

BAAL IN THE
RAS SHAMRA TEXTS

BY

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PREFACE

Most of this book was written in the spring term of 1950 at the Babylonian Collection of Yale University, New Haven, Conn. I owe a hearty thank to my friends at Yale for their kindness and help. I think that nobody will consider it an injustice when I mention Professor Albrecht Goetze especially. He is an inspiring teacher and many of the questions treated in this book were discussed with him.

When I had finished this book in Oslo Professor Sigmund Mowinckel read the manuscript and made some valuable suggestions. He was also at once willing to forward the manuscript to Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi with his recommendations for printing. I want to express my hearty thanks for that.

I have used Gordon's way of citing the texts. For obvious reasons I have used a simplified form of the names in the Ugaritic texts. Only in the transcriptions they are given with all diacritical marks. I preferred to adhere to the translations given by Gaster, Ginsberg, and Gordon in cases where my own translation did not essentially differ from theirs. After all it is rather hard for a foreigner to write English poetry! My friend Professor W. P. Lehmann, University of Texas, helped me in checking my English, but errors which may have slipped through will have to be written on my account.

I wish to express my gratitude to Norges Almenvitenskapelige Forskningsråd for its immediate and liberal support of the printing of this book.

Oslo November 1951.

Arvid S. Kapelrud.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB Texts	Texts where Baal and/or Anat play a chief rôle.
Acta Or	Acta Orientalia.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology.
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts, ed. Pritchard.
An Or	Analecta Orientalia.
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
CH	The Code of Hammurapi.
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.
Cun. Texts	Schaeffer: The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit.
Cyl.	Cylinder.
E. E.	Enuma eliš.
HTR	Harvard Theological Review.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.
LIH	Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi. Ed. by L. W. King.
MAOG	Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft.
MVAG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft.
NTT	Norsk teologisk tidsskrift.
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
OT	Old Testament.
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly.
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions.
RLA	Real-Lexikon der Assyriologie.
R Sh	Ras Shamra.
SBU	Svenskt Bibliskt Uppslagsverk.
TM	Telepinus Myth.
UH	Gordon: Ugaritic Handbook.
UL	Gordon: Ugaritic Literature.
UM	Obermann: Ugaritic Mythology.
UUA	Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift.
VAT	Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Tontafelsammlung.
WO	Die Welt des Orients.
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

BAAL IN THE RAS SHAMRA TEXTS

Since the finding of the first Ras Shamra texts in 1929, an overwhelming stream of articles and books treating these important religious documents from the middle of the 2nd Mill. B. C. has gone forth.¹⁾ The character of the language in which they were written, an un-vocalized Semitic, and lack of knowledge of their cultural and historical background concurred in making the meaning of many of the texts enigmatic and their "place in life" an open question.

As the details of Canaanite religion were nearly unknown until these texts were found,²⁾ many far-reaching conclusions have been drawn from them. Their similarity to the O.T. books was seen already by the first editors, and it has been stressed in most of the treatises treating their religious side. It is of great importance to investigate the relationship between the Ras Shamra texts and the O.T. books, but as this comparative task in many cases has been done before a thorough investigation of the R Sh texts themselves had taken place, the result was often that the last texts were interpreted in the light of the O.T., instead of being seen in their own context and meaning.

To find out the character of Baal in the R Sh texts and his rôle, it will be necessary to go the texts themselves. A thorough examination of the texts will form the basis for all conclusions. Concerning the method of interpreting the text, *J. Obermann* has recently said some necessary words.³⁾ There can be no doubt that his

¹⁾ Bibliographies: *C. F. A. Schaeffer*: Ugaritica. I. II. Paris 1939-50. (Mission de Ras Shamra. III. V.) *R. De Langhe*: Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Gembloux-Paris 1944-45, I, pp. XVI-LVII.

²⁾ *Otto Eissfeldt*: Ras Shamra und Sanchunjaton, 1939, pp. 1 ff. *J. Obermann*: Ugaritic Mythology, New Haven 1948, pp. XVII f.

³⁾ UM, pp. XII ff.

principle is the right one: to see the details in the light of the context and the whole text in the light of the details. Only in this way we shall be able to find out the intention of the texts.

It will, however, be of importance that we are from the beginning aware of the presuppositions with which we meet the texts. This is a point where scholars have not always seen their own situation clearly. Most of the scholars who have treated the R Sh texts, have their own opinion as to what kind of literature the texts represent. This opinion is often decisive for their point of view on the texts as a whole and thereby also for the treatment of the details. It is therefore necessary to take up this question here and even in some width.

We shall have to make a serious attempt to try to find out what kind of literature the texts treating Baal really are. It is of the highest importance to make this as clear as possible, as the result of this analysis will be decisive for the interpretation of the texts (as also, according to the principles mentioned by *J. Obermann*, the interpretation of the texts will be of importance for the understanding of their literary genre.)¹⁾ Are the texts concerned primarily myths, legends or cultic texts, parts of rituals or simply librettos, or may they be seen from several points of view? Many commentators and interpreters have treated these questions as if they were of no importance, but, as a matter of fact, they are of a decisive nature and must necessarily be faced. "Der Sitz im Leben", as Gunkel put it, has to be made clear before an adequate interpretation is possible.

We must also keep the eyes open for the background of the texts and for possible parallels. As mentioned above there is no lack of comparisons with O.T. literature. However interesting these comparisons may be, (and they will now and then be found also in the following treatment) they do not yield what is needed in our investigation. We shall therefore have to broaden the field considerably and see what the neighbouring peoples possessed of similar ideas, cults and gods.²⁾ There is no doubt that we shall be able to find close parallels in neighbouring peoples' culture

¹⁾ Ibid.

²⁾ Cfr. *A. Goetze*, JBL, LXIII, 1944, pp. 431 f., JAOS, 69, 1949, pp. 179 ff.

and considering how close was the connection between the cultures of the Near Eastern countries in the middle of the 2nd Mill. B. C., we shall have to give these parallels a thorough examination. On the other hand we shall have to take care so we do not run into the same error which was done in relation to the O.T. texts: to let the interpretation be too much influenced by points of view from another religion and another culture. This means that we shall also have to see the differences between the Ugaritic religion and literature and those of the neighbouring peoples.¹⁾

I. THE CHARACTER OF THE BAAL TEXTS AND THEIR "PLACE IN LIFE"

When *Hvidberg* wrote his "Graad og Latter i det Gamle Testament" in 1938 he could say: "There has hitherto been a remarkable silence about the literary species of the texts and their "place in life"—though a question of crucial importance for the understanding of them".²⁾ We cannot say any more that this question has not been discussed, but however that may be, one has still a feeling that its importance has not been completely understood—nor necessarily stressed.

In saying so I shall have to mention two conspicuous exceptions. One is *Ivan Engnell's* "Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East",³⁾ where a comprehensive discussion of the special character of the R Sh texts is found. *Engnell* gives a review of other scholars' theories, so I need not repeat that here. The other is *Theodor Gaster's* "Thespis",⁴⁾ with a thorough discussion of the questions mentioned.⁵⁾

I cannot completely escape the impression that very often the discussion of the literary character of the R Sh texts and their "place in life" is a battle about words. The texts are called "poesie

¹⁾ *A. Goetze*, JAOS, 69, 1949, p. 179.

²⁾ P. 35 (*Engnell's* translation).

³⁾ Uppsala 1943.

⁴⁾ New York 1950.

⁵⁾ Pp. 3-108.

phenicienne",¹⁾ legends,²⁾ myths,³⁾ epics,⁴⁾ ritual texts,⁵⁾ liturgies,⁶⁾ libretti,⁷⁾ cult-drama,⁸⁾ and even other designations may have been used.

How complicated, however, the whole question of terminology is, may be easily seen in the cases of *Hooke* and *Johs. Pedersen*. *Hooke* calls the texts "myths",⁹⁾ but he also speaks of "clearly ritual texts".¹⁰⁾ This is, however, no contradiction from his side as he considers myth to be the spoken part of a ritual.¹¹⁾ *Johs. Pedersen* sees it in nearly the same way; he calls the texts myths, temple ritual and cult-drama.¹²⁾ How these designations can go together, he has shown very clearly: "We have to do with a cult-drama which offers at once a myth and a ritual, what happens in the cult being identical with what happened in the divine primeval time or eternity".¹³⁾

Pedersen is seeing the texts from more than one angle; he consequently has to use several designations. And that is the solution also when we are going to weigh the value of the different terms used about the texts.

It is evident that seen from a purely literary point of view the greater part of the so-called AB cycle¹⁴⁾ may be called epics. They are composed in a poetical form and have features characteristic for epics. But I cannot see that this designation goes further than the purely literary form. We shall have to keep an open eye for the form of the texts, but I cannot accept this point of view as the most valuable and profitable for our understanding of the texts.

Seen from the point of view of contents the texts may very well

¹⁾ *Virolleaud*.

²⁾ *id.*

³⁾ *De Langhe, Hooke, Eissfeldt*.

⁴⁾ *Goetze, Obermann*.

⁵⁾ *Hooke*.

⁶⁾ *Graham and May*.

⁷⁾ *Gaster*.

⁸⁾ *Johs. Pedersen, Hvidberg, Engnell, Mowinckel*.

⁹⁾ *Myth and Ritual*, 1933, pp. 78 f.

¹⁰⁾ *Origins of Early Semitic Ritual*, pp. 32 ff.

¹¹⁾ *Myth and Ritual*, p. 3.

¹²⁾ *Acta Or* 18, 1939, pp. 3 ff.

¹³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁴⁾ Texts where Anat and/or Baal (Aliyan Baal) play the chief rôles.

be called myths. That designation implies that we have a story concerning superhuman beings, but that is also about all. It is thus a term that does not actually say much.

We shall have to see the texts from another point of view to find the most profitable angle for our understanding of them. Our texts are not "l'art pour l'art", they were not told just for the enjoyment of the audience. We are entitled to suppose that they had a certain "place in life" and we may assume that this "place in life" plays a great part also for their contents and literary form. If that is so, we have really found a superior point of view which may be of high value for our understanding of them.

The difficulty, however, comes when we are going to apply this point of view to find out what was actually the "place in life" of the AB texts from R Sh. Here again scholars disagree. *Hvidberg*,¹⁾ *Pedersen*,²⁾ *Mowinckel*³⁾ and *Engnell*⁴⁾ have no doubts: the texts represent a cult-drama. On the same line is *Th. Gaster*, who sees the texts from nearly the same point of view, but uses the somewhat unhappy term "libretti" to define their kind.⁵⁾ *Gaster* has, however, given a clearer picture of his point of view in his recent book "Thespi".⁶⁾

Goetze, on the other hand is not convinced by the claims that the Ugaritic texts are "librettos for dramatic performance".⁷⁾ He finds "nothing in the literary form of the poems that would justify such an assumption". The question is, however, how far we can use the literary form as a criterion when we shall try to find the "place in life" of a text. The literary form may sometimes give great help in the analysis of a text in order to find out how and where it was used, as for example is the case with hymns and prayers. But in other cases the literary form reveals very little and few, if any, conclusions can be drawn from it.

Engnell has some fine observations on this point:—"we can naturally not expect "scenarios" with indications of who has to

¹⁾ Graad og Latter, pp. 37 f.

²⁾ Acta Or 18, 1939, pp. 3 ff.

³⁾ NTT, 40, 1939, pp. 19 f.

⁴⁾ Studies in Divine Kingship, pp. 103 ff.

⁵⁾ Religions, 18, 1937, pp. 7 ff.

⁶⁾ Pp. 3-152.

⁷⁾ JBL, LXIII, 1944, p. 430.

utter a certain cue or to perform a certain action etc. Such things are in a living tradition of a cultic "place in life" so obvious that they need not be specially noted. We must further keep in mind that also apparently "narrative" sections may very well have been recited by the actor in question, or in any case by "the messenger" or "the narrator".¹⁾ . . . "Whether these "plays" were enacted even at the time of their fixation in writing is another question—and probably an unanswerable one. The rituals are as such, we know, to a certainty hundreds of years older than the time of Nkmd (14th century) when the present tablets were written down".²⁾

Eissfeldt made an interesting attempt to find a point of view that included the literary form of the texts as well as their "place in life".³⁾ "Eine der wichtigsten Fragen . . . ist die nach der Art und Gattung dieser Texte, ob sie unmittelbare Niederschläge lebendigen Glaubens sind, also Religionsdokumente, oder Dichtungen über religiös-kultische Motive . . .".⁴⁾

In this connection *Eissfeldt* has some good observations; "Dass diese "mythologischen" Texte, in denen viel von Tempel und Opfer, Bestattung und Trauer, Mantik und Magie die Rede ist, zum Kultus in Beziehung stehen und, wenigstens zum Teil, geradezu die Festlegenden, die bestimmte Feiern und Handlungen darstellen, darf als sicher gelten, und insofern sind die Versuche, ihren Sitz im Kultus genauer zu bestimmen, trotz aller ihnen anhaftenden Problematik berechtigt".⁵⁾ But at the same time *Eissfeldt* admits this he also finds other traits which "offenbar als reflexionsmässig-dichterische Ausgestaltung von Glaubensvorstellungen zu erklären sind."⁶⁾

¹⁾ Studies in Divine Kingship, p. 104.

²⁾ Ibid.

³⁾ Ras Shamra und Sanchunjaton (Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums. H. 4), 1939, pp. 76 ff.

⁴⁾ Op. cit. p. 76.

⁵⁾ Op. cit., p. 80.

⁶⁾ Op. cit., p. 81. Cf. also his *El im ugaritischen Pantheon*, 1951, p. 58. He has here taken a more definite stand: "Denn die Epen von Ras Shamra sind ja nicht unmittelbarer Niederschlag der zu ihrer Gegenwart lebendigen Religion, sondern Dichtungen, die sich der damaligen religiösen Anschauungen und Bräuche als ihres Stoffes bedienen, selbst aber bei aller inneren Bindung

His position here is not quite clear. On the one side he finds that it is impossible to make a clear distinction ("saubere Scheidung") between what has grown out of a pious belief and what has been created by "Lust am Fabulieren". On the other side he finds it to be of great importance to be aware of the difference and to make it clear where possible. "Denn von der Beantwortung dieser Frage hängt das Verständnis nicht nur ihrer literarischen Form, sondern auch der von ihnen bezeugten Religionsstufe ab."¹⁾ In any case *Eissfeldt* has pointed to an important fact which we shall have to bear in mind.

Before we do more to find out the "place in life" of the AB texts, it may be useful to recapitulate some facts concerning the place where they were found and the surroundings of this place.

Most of the texts which are in our focus of interest, were found in the royal library of Ugarit.²⁾ Learned priests and their pupils copied ancient texts and had them deposited in the library, which seems to have been considerably augmented during the reign of king Nqmd in the 14th century. Probably a school of scribes was attached to the library, and it may also be supposed to be the place where the young priests were instructed in the liturgical literature. This library-school was situated in a central place, namely in the same building where the dwelling of the high priest was located.³⁾ This building was situated in a dominating place in Ugarit, between the two great temples of the town. There can be no doubt about the intimate connection between the three. This fact points already to the probability that the texts found in the library will have to be considered as texts intended for use in the temples, as far as concerns the religious texts at least.

The two temples are dedicated to Baal and to his father Dagan, both well known Semitic deities. It is no accident that one temple is dedicated to the god who plays the main rôle in the AB texts. A temple needed its cult texts, and cult texts need a temple.

an sie doch zugleich von ihnen frei sind, wie alle wahre Dichtung einen gewissen Abstand zu der ihr als Stoff dienenden Wirklichkeit einnimmt."

¹⁾ Op. cit., p. 82.

²⁾ Cf. *Schaeffer*, in *Syria*, 10, 1929, pp. 285 ff, *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit*, 1939, pp. 34 ff.

³⁾ *Schaeffer*, *Cun. Texts*, p. 35.

In Ugarit we find both—and both of them with Baal as the central figure. That there must be some connection between them cannot be doubted. How closely connected they actually are we shall see later, when we investigate the texts.

Meanwhile I shall only mention that the temple of Baal and the building of this temple is a central theme in the AB-cycle.¹⁾ Nobody can doubt that these texts were recited or used for dramatic performances in the temple they mention so frequently. Actually they are stressing the necessity and importance of the building of a new temple; not for the gods who had their temples since “time immemorial”, but for the young and victorious Baal, who had till then had no temple.²⁾ Whether this reflects historical events³⁾ or is to be understood as a mythological trait, we may in any case be sure that texts speaking about the temple of Baal, as the AB-cycle does, were sometimes in use in the cult of that temple. The AB-cycle is not written for entertainment or as pure literature, it represents living tradition with a certain “place in life”. One can hardly avoid the conclusion that the AB-cycle was used in the cult at the Baal temple, in one way or another.

We get an impression of the connection between the temple and the R Sh texts, when we compare what is really left of the Baal temple with what is told about Krt’s sacrifices to Baal. Krt washes and carries the sacrifices into the house. Then he goes up to the top of the tower, w^cly. lẓr. mgdl., he “rides the shoulders of the wall”, rkb. ṭkmm. ḥmt., Krt 156 ff. He lifts his hands toward heaven and sacrifices to Baal. After having finished his sacrifice Krt goes down from the roof, 171 f. This action of king Krt seems to indicate that the temple had a tower or some kind of high place where sacrifices were performed.

The ruins of the Baal temple, excavated at R Sh., show that such a tower actually existed. The Baal temple had a *naos*, a *pronaos* and a forecourt with an altar.⁴⁾ At the east end of the *naos* is a great block, “separated from the inner wall of the sanctuary by a narrow passage. In this passage was the staircase, of

¹⁾ Obermann: “—perhaps we should say *the* central theme—”, UM, 1948, p. 1.

²⁾ 51: IV: 51 ff.

³⁾ So Schaeffer, *Cun. Texts*, p. 8.

⁴⁾ Schaeffer, *Cun. Texts*, p. 66 ff.

which the first step, of stone, is still in place, and up which the priests climbed to the terrace on the temple roof."¹⁾

Other indications of the close connection between the texts and the cultic life may be mentioned.

Schaeffer has pointed to the importance of some formulas used again and again in the AB texts:

barš mlḥmt. št.	Put bread in the earth
b ^c pr(t/m!). ddym.	Place mandrakes in the dust
sk šlm. lkbd. arš	Pour a peace offering in the midst of the earth
arbdd lkbd. šdm	A libation in the midst of the fields! ²⁾
('nt III:11-14)	

¹⁾ *Schaeffer*, *Cun. Texts*, p. 67.

²⁾ The text is found also in 'nt IV: 52-54, 67-69, 72-75. The translation given above is that of *Gordon*, *UL*, p. 19. This translation is in accordance with that given by *Virolleaud*, *Syria XVIII*, 1937, p. 111, and by *Schaeffer*, *Cun. Texts*, p. 46. Another translation is given by *Goetze* in *BASOR*, 93, 1944, pp. 17-20: "Remove war from earth! Do away with passion! Pour out peace over the earth, loving consideration over the fields!" *Ginsberg* translates in the same way: "Take war away from the earth. Banish (all) strife from the soil; Pour peace into earth's very bowels, Much amity into earth's bosom." *ANET*, 1950, p. 136. I cannot accept this translation, for several reasons. It gives little meaning to put "peace" and "amity" into earth, and I think that *Virolleaud* and *Gordon* have rendered the words of the text better here. Further their understanding of the use of the preposition b in barš and b^cpr m is more appropriate than that of *Ginsberg*. The interpretation of *Goetze* and *Ginsberg* also presupposes that šlm has to be taken in a pacifistic meaning = to take away war and banish strife. I dare not deny that this connotation may be found, but I doubt it. As far as I can see, šlm has its old meaning in the R Sh texts: happiness, good fortune, well-being, fertility, 52:7,26; 54:4 and 89:13, where *Gordon* has translated "welfare", *UL*, p. 116. It may also, as usual in Semitic languages, be used about a special kind of offering, unhappily rendered into English as "peace offering", 1:8; 3:17,52; 5:7; 9:7; *Krt* 130, 275.

The formula is not used exclusively in addresses to Anat. That is another reason for rejecting the translation given by *Goetze* and *Ginsberg*. Also Ktr-wḥss is addressed in the same words, 'nt VI:20 ff, pl. IX:III: 4 ff. In these cases it seems unlikely that the translation of *Goetze* and *Ginsberg* is appropriate.

John Gray has recently given two translations of the passage which are probably to be preferred also to that of *Virolleaud* and *Gordon*: "Place in the earth pots, pour peace-offerings into the heart of the earth; Set many jars into the heart of the fields," *ZAW*, 62, 1949/50, p. 212, and *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 84, 1949, p. 138.

The translation of the text given here is confirmed by ritual deposits found by *Schaeffer* during the excavations at R Sh and also at Minet-el-Beida.¹⁾ A "large baked clay pipe was buried upright in the ground, and through it libations were poured deep into the earth, exactly as required by the rite. Holes made at various levels in the pipe allowed liquid offerings to flow away into the soil. Pots were buried at the lower end of the pipe, as mentioned in the text. Amongst the pots were rhytons, a sort of funnel for libations, which well illustrated the ritual nature of this deposit."²⁾ The whole text cited above, clearly depicts fertility rites as they were exercised in the Ugaritic cult.

The numerous signs showing that the religious cult at Ugarit was of a decidedly fertility character need not be repeated here. The large and life-like stone phalli and the many plaques of the nude goddess of fertility give clear evidence as to the character of Ugaritic religion.³⁾

Pictures of Baal have also been found. *Schaeffer* has pointed to the fact that they agree very well with the picture we get of Baal in the texts.⁴⁾ On a great stele Baal "is seen brandishing a club and holding in his left hand a stylized thunderbolt ending in a spear-head."⁵⁾ Club and thunderbolt are usual attributes for a god (like Hadad) representing thunder, storm and rain, i. e. fertility.—Both on the stele of Baal and on a statuette of gold-plated bronze we find that Baal wears horns.⁶⁾ Photographs of the stele and of the statuette show clearly that these horns are made in the shape of a bull's horns. This is in the best agreement with the texts where Baal several times is pictured in the rôle of a bull, see especially 67:V:18 ff, where Baal's love of a young cow ('Anat) is spoken of.⁷⁾ He seems to be mentioned as a bull (alp) in the badly mutilated passage 76:III:14 ff. In a single place also "his horns" (qrnh) are mentioned, 75:II:40, but the

¹⁾ *Schaeffer*, *Cun. Texts*, pp. 46 f, pl. XXVIII, fig. 1.

²⁾ *Op. cit.* p. 47.

³⁾ *Op. cit.* p. 47.

⁴⁾ *Op. cit.* p. 64. *Ugaritica* II, 1949, pp. 121-130.

⁵⁾ *Cun. Texts*, p. 64.

⁶⁾ *Op. cit.*, pl. XXXII, fig. 2, pl. XXXIII.

⁷⁾ I cannot see that *Gordon's* interpretation, *UL*, p. 8, is right. Baal is seen as a bull in the text mentioned, and there is no thought of "bestiality".

context is not clear and it is not possible to say definitely that Baal's horns are meant. When the cow which Baal loved, bore a bull, the good news was brought to the god: "A bull is born unto Baal, yea a buffalo to the Rider of Clouds!" (76:III:36 f).

This fine agreement between the texts and excavated objects from the cultic life is remarkable and gives further indications that the R Sh texts, especially the AB cycle, were closely connected with the cultic life in ancient Ugarit. In the case of Baal we have still another interesting object. Among some monuments depicting priests oddly dressed in animal masks and horns, is a haematite cylinder-seal where priests are shown in animal masks.¹⁾ There are two groups of them. In one group two priests, one of them wearing a goat's mask, are preparing a sacrifice before the solar emblem, supposed to be that of El. In the other group one of the priests wears a bull's mask. Here the sacrifice is brought to a bull's head, without doubt the symbol of Baal. This gives a picture of the rôle Baal played in Ugaritic cult, and it shows further that the frequent mentioning of Baal as a bull is no merely poetic picture, but that it represents a cultic reality of great importance. Baal's identification with the bull, symbol of prowess and fertility, seems to have been complete in the cult. Representations of the god as bull must have been understood by those taking part in the cult as a natural thing. The bull stood for Baal, and Baal for all the bull meant in ancient thought. In the cult dramas the priests put on masks, depicting the most useful animals in the economic as well as in the cultic life. Those animals which were from ancient times necessary for the daily life of the population in these countries had to be taken care of and treated well, and this was expressed also in the religious cult. The connection between the bull and the god of rain and fertility is an ancient one.

The haematite cylinder-seal from R Sh mentioned above may have even more to tell than what is seen by *Schaeffer*.²⁾ If it is really a scene from a sacrifice which is depicted here—and the objects carried by the priests seem to indicate that—it is remarkable that the priests wear masks. It indicates that the sacrifice

¹⁾ *Schaeffer*, *Cun. Texts*, p. 64, pl. X, fig. 2.

²⁾ *Cun. Texts*, p. 64, pl. X, fig. 2.

depicted is no every day offering. One tends to guess that the intention of the artist was to give a picture of a special sacrifice on an important occasion. This occasion must have been a cult event (whatever its background may have been) and the masks of the priests indicate that a cult drama is going on.

Actually we have here more than an indication that important cult dramas took place in ancient Ugarit. I shall not go so far as to call it a proof, but it is well known from different religions, also in the ancient Near East, that during cultic performances the priests usually wear masks. In the cultic dramas the stages in the incessant struggle between gods and their enemies are given. The enemies are pictured as dangerous monsters, and the priests who play those parts, wear awful, fear-rousing masks, while the priests who are acting in the gods' parts wear masks symbolizing certain gods (and in some religions these masks are just as awful as those of the enemies).¹⁾ The Ugaritic cylinder-seal shows that there is all reason to believe that similar cult dramas have been performed also in ancient Ugaritic religion. We are entitled to search for a better clue to their character in the R Sh texts, especially in the AB cycle.

The importance of this interpretation can be demonstrated at once. The question of the cultic character of the R Sh texts is no mere academic question; it influences our interpretation of the texts directly. I shall here mention only one example. The enigmatic text 75 (BH, Chasses de Baal, Baal's hunting) is still a riddle to scholars, and there are details difficult to explain. Still the character of the text seems clear, when interpreted from a cultic point of view.

The most enigmatic character of the text are the "devourers" and the "eaters", on whom much speculating has been done. Here the text seems to give the clue itself:

aklm. tbrkk
wld °qqm
ilm yp°r
šmthm

The eaters will bless thee
Born are the devourers!
The gods proclaim
their names.

¹⁾ Cf. Tibetan and Mongolian religion, H. Haslund-Christensen: *Zajagan*, Copenhagen 1935, pp. 39 ff.

bhm qrm	On them are horns
km. trm. wgbtt	like bulls and humps
km. ibrm	like buffaloes.
wbhm. pn. b'l	And on them is the face of Baal. ¹⁾
(75:I:26-33)	

The "eaters", aklm, and the "devourers", 'qqm, are mentioned as gods, wearing horns like bulls and humps like steers. When we remember the cylinder-seal from R Sh mentioned above²⁾ we need not speculate much over this. The aklm and the 'qqm were the priests dressed in animal hides and masks, of which bull's heads and hides are especially mentioned.³⁾

The cultic interpretation may here be driven very far. The usual question to be put is what is behind these masked figures, what do they actually picture? I have a suspicion that this question is wrongly put. The whole cultic performance naturally has its meaning. *Engnell* has called it "an expiatory sacrifice, where the god-king, substituted by the bull, brings about the atonement by his "vicarious suffering."⁴⁾ But what is actually "meant" with the aklm and the 'qqm is another question. Here I suppose that the text is only descriptive (and not only on this point). The aklm and the 'qqm had no existence apart from their existence in the cult. The texts were not composed for performance in the cult, they originated on the contrary from the cult. They were texts accompanying or explaining a cult drama, and there is reason to believe that the cult drama was primary.

¹⁾ *Gordon's* transl., UL, p. 54. Cf. also *Ginsberg*, JPOS 16, 1936, pp. 138 ff. I choose this translation, though with some hesitation, of the l. 33: wbhm. pn. b'l. *Montgomery*, JAOS, 56, 1933, p. 230, *Gaster*, Acta Or, 16, 1937, p. 46, n. 22, and *Engnell*, Studies in Div. Kingship, p. 126, n. 4, prefer the translation: "and against them shall be the face of Ba'lu" (*Engnell's* version), citing parallels from Psalm 34:17, Lev. 17:10 and Gen. 16:12. Grammatically they may be right, and their translation is all right in the context of the whole. But what is wrong is that it does not fit in with the next context. The wbhm continues what is said in l. 30: bhm qrm, and in line 30 the translation "against them" cannot be used. It is unlikely that the use of that construction has changed from l. 30 to l. 33; therefore *Ginsberg's* and *Gordon's* transl. has to be preferred. I shall, however, be very cautious in using this line.

²⁾ *Schaeffer*, Cun. Texts, pl. X, fig. 2.

³⁾ So also *Gaster*, op. cit. and *Engnell*, op. cit., p. 125 ff.

⁴⁾ *Studies*, p. 127.

The cylinder-seal mentioned show that Baal was the object in the cult, that cult dramas were performed before him and that sacrifices were brought to him. Also the texts give some evidence in this case. In Krt 77 ff, 169 ff sacrifices to Baal are mentioned. It is king Krt who goes up to the top of the temple-tower to bring sacrifices to Il and Baal. A lamb, a kid, birds, wine and honey are included in the list of things to be sacrificed, l. 60 ff, 160 ff.

ša. ydk šmm.	Lift up thy hands to heaven.
dbḥ. ltr abk. il.	Sacrifice to Bull, thy father Il;
šrd. b'l bdbḥk.	Honor Baal, with thy sacrifice,
bn. dgn bmqdk.	Dagan's son with thine oblation. ¹⁾
(Krt, 75-79)	

In 2 Aqht:I:32 f and II:21 f sacrifices with offering-meals in the house of Baal and in the house of Il are mentioned. The temple of Baal, bt. b'l, is here expressly spoken of as a place where the king or his son took part in the offering-meals for the god.

An enigmatic Baal-text, which seems to be a ritual, or at least to speak of some actions taken from a ritual, is found in 126:III:1 ff. Unhappily the text is badly broken and about 30 lines are supposed to be missing, so we do not know the context, nor do we know every word within the part which we have. The first line talks of pouring of oil: he pours (or: they pour) oil, ysq. šmn. Where and how this pouring of oil is going to take place we cannot know, because of the mutilated text, but the following lines indicate that we have here a sacrifice brought to Baal in order to make him give rain to the dry fields. The pouring of oil may have taken place through one of the large baked clay pipes, buried in the ground.²⁾ Sacrifice of oil is well known from the Ancient Near East; it was commonly used in connection with fertility rites. There can be little doubt that it is used in the same way in 126:III:1.³⁾ This is shown by the following lines, of which lines 5-8 are completely clear:

¹⁾ Ginsberg's transl., ANET, p. 143.

²⁾ See above, p. 20.

³⁾ So also Ginsberg, ANET, p. 148: "If the reading is correct, the fat, or oil, is either literal, in which case we have a description of an act of sympathetic magic meant to induce precipitation; or figurative, in which case actual rain is described" (Note 29).

larṣ m[ṭ]r. b'1	Unto the earth Baal r[ai]ns
wlšd. mṭr. 'ly	And unto the field rains 'Aliyy.
n'm. larṣ mṭr b'[1]	Sweet to the earth is Baa[l's] rain
wlšd. mṭr. 'ly	And to the field the rain of 'Aliyy. ¹⁾

(126:III:5-8)

The aspect of fertility comes out beyond doubt, and the mentioning of Baal here (in two versions, as b'1 and 'ly) gives us reason to believe that the invocation was directed to him. He was responsible for the distribution of rain, a necessity for all kinds of fertility in this part of the world, where the rain and not the flowing rivers as in Mesopotamia and Egypt makes the grass grow again after the dry summer period. Therefore Baal was one of the most important gods, if not the most important. He was not a god living only in literature; his life and death meant life and death to farmers and cattle-breeders and thereby to the whole society. Baal's relation to man and the importance of his measures to man are indicated also in the text:

nšu riš ḥrṭm	The plowmen raise their heads
lṣr []db dgn	Upward the growers of corn. ²⁾

The life and welfare of the tillers of the earth are dependent on Baal, who brings the dark clouds, the thunder and the rain. The looking up to heaven of the plowman is a characteristic feature, found among peasants till this day. The mentioning of this is a fine literary device, showing that the texts represent an ancient tradition where the different features had had a long time to be worked out.

But the literary device is not used for the sake of literature here. The intention is to paint the plowman's situation when the fertility rites are performed, just before they work. That is clear also from the following vivid description:

Spent is the bread from their jars
 Spent is the wine from their bottles
 Spent is the oil from their jugs

(126:III:13-16).

¹⁾ Ginsberg's transl., ANET p. 148.

²⁾ Ibid.

The situation is clear, but what has led to it, is not so clear. The meaning is either that a drought or the dry season has been of so long duration that bread, wine and oil have come to an end. Or it is that a great cultic effort has been done, and bread, wine and oil sacrificed. Now they are waiting for results, with empty jars and bottles.

In any case the text 126:III:1-16 gives us a picture, however incomplete and indistinct, of what took place when fertility rites for the bringing of rain were performed. Baal's central place in these rites can not be doubted.

How important Baal's place in cultic life was can be seen from some of the lists of sacrifices for various gods, found in R Sh. Here is listed what has to be sacrificed to whom, and Baal's name is mentioned again and again. The line 1:7 speaks of the assemblies of Il and Baal, *dr il wp[h]r b'l*. Baal is further mentioned as receiver of sacrifices in 1:10, 3:41, 9:3, 6, 8, 14.¹⁾

The numerous examples of Baal's central place in the cult of ancient Ugarit and his close connection with fertility give clear evidence for some conclusions which cannot be avoided.

To start with the fact last mentioned: Baal's connection with the fertility makes the point of view that he should be a literary figure only (main person in an epic or a poem) impossible. It may be that the R Sh texts in the shape they have now, have received their form from learned priests (or scribes), but these priests have only carried on a tradition that was too strong to be broken, and it was so strong because it was closely connected with the very existence of the Ugarit population. The priests have been able to give the texts a fine literary form²⁾ (though much of this may have been formed already in the cultic use), but they have not dared to change the contents, not even in details, and surely not the figure of Baal, known as a necessity of life for those taking part in the cultic performances. Baal incorporated in him-

¹⁾ What concerns Baal, then, I cannot find *Albright's* judgment so well founded when he states that "there is, in general, only a vague relation between the divinities which figure most prominently in the mythological tablets found at Ugarit and the most popular deities worshipped in the city itself", *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 1942, p. 71.

²⁾ Cf. *Goetze*, *JAOS* 69, 1949, p. 180.

self all aspects of fertility and he must therefore necessarily be the centre of a vivid interest. This interest was not, however, born by curiosity, but by necessity. The clear-cut cleavage between god and fertility that seems to us to exist, was not present in ancient time in the Near East. God and fertility were one, and when one of them was mentioned the other was implied. It is important to bear this in mind when we are going to treat the character of Baal in the R Sh text.

I have tried to show that Baal was an important figure in Ugaritic cult and that his connection with life and fertility was very close. As far as I can see there is strong evidence for this. It is a necessary corollary that this must have consequences also for our interpretation of the AB cycle.

Baal is the central figure in the AB texts. His life and death are the main themes around which all is centred. It is then likely that also these texts are closely connected with the fertility aspect as well as with the cult. This means just one thing: that the AB texts were cult texts. This is actually so likely that the burden of proof ought to rest on the scholars who maintain that these texts are *not* cult texts.

What the cultic character of the texts implies, I have touched upon above.¹⁾ More will come out in the treatment of the details of the texts, so it is not necessary to take up that question here.

II. SIMILAR GODS IN CULTIC TEXTS FROM NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

It is well known that cults similar in character to that of Baal were found in other Near Eastern cultures. There is no reason for going through them here. Only a few traits will be mentioned. In order to throw light over the character of the R Sh texts some similar texts from religions in neighbouring countries will be analyzed briefly.

The ancient fertility deity of Sumer, Tammuz, was known in most of the Near East. He seems to have been a god of about

¹⁾ Pp. 22 ff.

the same character as Baal in Ugarit. Tammuz was not only a fertility god—though this aspect was the one stressed in later times—, but a chief deity who is mentioned with the same titles used for the high gods: en, umun, lord, ruler, nin-ru-rugu, sovereign, sib-zi-an-na, true shepherd of heaven, am-ra-an-na, brilliant master of heaven, etc.¹⁾

Recent research has given a strong impression of how widely spread, how important and persistent the Tammuz cult was.²⁾ There has been found an abundance of liturgies, showing how strong and vivid the faith in the dying and rising fertility god was. Archaeological finds have given the same evidence, to such a degree that A. Moortgat could recently state: “An der übertragenden Bedeutung des Innim-Tammuz-Kultes für das sumerische Volk kann niemand mehr zweifeln, der unsere Betrachtung der Bild- und Grabbaukunst von der Frühgeschichte bis zur III. Dynastie von Ur über rund ein Jahrtausend gefolgt ist”.³⁾ This importance continued also through the following centuries. In the time of Hammurapi Marduk was the central god in the Babylonian pantheon, but this has found no clear expression in the art of the time. “Lediglich die Volkskunst tradiert den alten einfachen Tammuz-Kult weiter, während die offizielle Staatskunst nur den lichten Staatsgöttern Raum lässt. Die Aufsaugung des chthonischen Glaubens sumerischer Herkunft durch den Hauptgott des Pantheons, Marduk, wird erst in einer späteren Entwicklung in der Bildkunst zur Geltung kommen”.⁴⁾ A similar development took place in Assyria, where Aššur adopted some of the characteristic traits of Tammuz, but also the ancient, plain belief in Tammuz and worship of him seemed to continue.⁵⁾

This transformation of Tammuz, the fertility god (but also chief deity), into the new and “young” national deities Marduk and Aššur, or maybe more correct: the absorption of him into these gods, is a very important fact which may have bearing also for

¹⁾ Engnell: *Studies in Div. Kingship*, pp. 22. Tallquist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, pp. 469 f.

²⁾ Cf. M. Witzel: *Tammuz-Liturgien und Verwandtes*. (An Or 10. 1935).

³⁾ Anton Moortgat: *Tammuz*. Berlin 1949, p. 81.

⁴⁾ Moortgat, op. cit., p. 98.

⁵⁾ Moortgat, op. cit., pp. 122 ff.

our investigation, helping us to understand better the character of Baal in Ugarit religion. Marduk and Aššur were young and strong gods, who defeated their enemies, and show clear traces of being fertility gods as well as chief national deities. Both were central figures in the cult of their countries, around whom the great yearly festival was built up.

That the same was the case with the Sumerian Ningirsu, we can see clearly from the cylinders of Gudea, ensi of Lagash. Gudea built a temple for Ningirsu, the chief god of Lagash.¹⁾ Here the great New Year festival was celebrated. On the third day of the first month of the year Ningirsu "came from Eridu".²⁾ He came in a shining chariot and entered the temple, E-ninnu, to be enthroned there together with the goddess Ba-ba.³⁾ The throne was similar to the throne in the ideal temple in heaven.⁴⁾ The enthronement was accompanied by the hieros gamos, whereby new fertility was created for the starting new year. This was the dramatic high point of the cultic performances.⁵⁾ This act which is so characteristic for the fertility cult, was the central point in the ritual, toward which everything converged. There can also be no doubt as to who played the rôle of Ningirsu in this cult: that was the ensi, Gudea himself. The rôle of the goddess Ba-ba was probably played by the queen or by a priestess.

We know that the yearly hieros gamos was the central point in the ancient Sumerian New Year's festival, the zag-mug, later Akkadian: akītu.⁶⁾ It is evident that the temple dedication of Gudea was celebrated in connection with the New Year's festival. That makes Cylinder B a very important text for a right understanding of the AB cycle from Ugarit, where we clearly also have texts from a fertility cult and where an important temple dedication of the temple of Baal is a central point. The Cylinder B of Gudea may give us a hint as to how the temple dedication text from Ugarit has to be understood. The arrival of the god to the

¹⁾ Cylinder A, cf. especially 5:17 f, 24:13 ff.

²⁾ Cyl. B:3:6 ff. The first month was the "Month of the Temple", 3:7.

³⁾ Previously called Ba-u.

⁴⁾ Cyl. B:16:18.

⁵⁾ B:17:1 ff. Cf. *M. Lambert—R. Tournay* in *Revue Biblique*, 55, 1948, pp. 520 ff.

⁶⁾ Stat. E:5:1-3, Stat. D:2:11-3:2, Stat. G:1:11-18. VATh 663.

temple, his enthronement and the hieros gamos are all acts that were not told for enjoyment; they represent cultic performances.

We know that a number of texts which in the eyes of scholars have to be called myths, were connected with the akitu-festival, the great New Year festival of Mesopotamia. This holds good also of the Babylonian creation drama, *Enuma eliš*. Here it is possible to investigate scene after scene and find the place it had in the cult.¹⁾ According to *Pallis* "*Enuma eliš* was originally simply a cult text . . . belonging to the primitive agricultural drama of Babylon, which was originally performed at the akitu festival."²⁾ He continues: "But at the same time we must strongly emphasize that in the form in which we now know *Enuma eliš*, it is no cult text. The epic is a text influenced by the urban culture, which now appears as a cult legend . . .". Babylonian culture had passed into the stage of urban civilization. The religious drama tended to lose touch with what it originally sprang from. The connection between the cult and the cult text became less intimate. *Pallis'* observations on this point are so important for our investigation of the R Sh texts that it is necessary to quote them at some length: "By tradition they [the cult and the cult text] are still indissolubly bound together, but the cult text is expanded theologically and poetically, the similes are made more elaborate and often consciously artistic, and connecting links serving to explain and interpret cult acts which have now become unintelligible, are inserted in the text. We have thus no longer a cult text, but a cult myth, or in most cases merely a cult legend, that is to say, an original cult text, of whose appertaining cult acts no knowledge has come down to us, and which has been expanded during the period of the urban civilization, both artistically and theologically . . ."³⁾

I have mentioned some of the gods who at different times were the center of the cult festivals in Mesopotamia. There is still another important god who has to be mentioned in this connection. That is the ancient Semitic storm and weather god Adad, who played an important part in the cultic life of the middle of the

¹⁾ Cfr. *S. A. Pallis*: The Babylonian akitu Festival, Cph. 1926, pp. 297 ff.

²⁾ Op. cit. p. 299.

³⁾ Op. cit. pp. 254 f.

2nd millennium in the Near East. Adad won great popularity in the time of Hammurapi and was especially beloved also among the Assyrians.¹⁾ The great conqueror of Assyria, Hammurapi's contemporary Šamši-Adad I, had a name which contained that of the mighty storm god. He was of Amorite origin and there is no doubt that Adad played a rôle also among the Amorites. That means that in the time of Hammurapi Adad was one of the chief deities of the Near East. In north Šamši-Adad I controlled vast territories, among which were Syria, the region of Mari, and Ešnunna.²⁾ Farther in south Hammurapi was building his new empire. Both kings seem to have been interested in the cult of Adad.³⁾ What rôle Adad played, is clear from the way in which he is mentioned in the Code of Hammurapi:

Adad be-el ḥegallim	May Adad, the lord of abundance,
gu-gal ša-me-e	the irrigator of heaven and earth,
ú er-se-tim	my helper,
ri-zu-u-a	deprive him of the rains from heaven
zu-ni i-na ša-me-e	(and) the floodwaters from the
i-na na-ak-bi-im	springs!
li-te-ir-šu	May he bring his land to destruction
ma-zu	through want and hunger;
i-na ḥu-ša-aḥ-ḥi-im	may he thunder furiously over
ú bu-bu-tim	his city,
li-ḥal-li-iq	and turn his land into the
eli ali-šu	desolation of flood! ⁴⁾
iz-zi-iš	
li-is-si-ma	
ma-zu a-na tíl a-bu-bi-im	
li-te-ir.	

The character of Adad as storm god and creator of fertility is underlined here. Adad brought the rain to pour down from heaven and in with-holding it he could bring his land to destruction through want or hunger. He could also flood it and destroy

¹⁾ Ebeling in RLA, vol. 1, 1928, pp. 22 f.

²⁾ Gelb: Hurrians and Subarians, 1944, p. 42.

³⁾ Code of Ham., epilogue, rev XXVII, 64 ff, prologue, III, 56 ff.

⁴⁾ Op. cit., rev XXVII, 64-80. Meek's transl. in ANET, p. 179.

it in that way.¹⁾ At the same time as Adad was pictured as the blessing giver of fertility he could thus also be feared as destroyer, as a wild warrior ravaging his own land.

There is much evidence that there was a rich Adad cult in the time of Hammurapi. The Babylonian king took part in this cult; he also built new temples for Adad and restored old ones. He mentions this in his Law Code, in the Prologue:

ru-bu-um el-lum	The illustrious prince,
ša ni-iš qa-ti-šu	whose prayers
Adad i-du-u	Adad recognizes;
mu-ne-iḥ	who pacifies
li-iḥ-bi Adad	the heart of Adad,
qu-ra-di-im	the warrior,
i-na ^{al} IM ^{ki} (Bit Karkara?)	in Bet-karkar;
mu-uš-ta-ak-ki-in	who has reestablished
zi-ma-tim	the appointments
i-na É. GUD. GAL. GAL	in Eudgalgal,
šarrum na-di-in	the king, who granted
na-pi-iš-tim	life
a-na UD. NUN ^{ki}	to Adab;
a-še-ir	the director
bit É. MAḤ	of the temple of Emaḥ
e-te-el šarri	the chief of kings,
ga-ba-al	a fighter
la ma-ḥa-ri-im ²⁾	without peer. ³⁾

Some important cult places for Adad are mentioned in this text, and it is told that Hammurapi took part in the cult of this god. The town of Bit Karkara seems to have been consecrated to Adad. Its name is given in the texts with the same ideogram which is used to denote the name of Adad: IM, followed by the place determinative ki. Here the royal cult for Adad took place, in the temple É-udgalgal. Possibly this temple was built or restored in the 20th year of Hammurapi's reign, a year which is called

¹⁾ Cf. §§ 45 and 48 of the CH, where Adad is mentioned as causing the flood.

²⁾ CH, prologue, III:55-72.

³⁾ Meek's transl., ANET, p. 165.

"the year when he furnished a throne for Adad".¹⁾ It was, however, not the only place where the cult of Adad was found.²⁾ Hammurapi also built a temple for the storm god in his 28th year, in Babylon. The temple was called Ê-nam-ĥe.³⁾ In Dilbat there was a temple for Adad at the time of Hammurapi.⁴⁾ Šamši-Adad I built a double temple for Anu and Adad.⁵⁾

There was no doubt an intense cult of Adad in a vast territory. The words of Hammurapi show that this cult was performed in the usual way, with prayers and sacrifices. But Adad's rôle seems so important that there is reason to wonder whether he did not play a more active part.

His name is met so often as part of personal names that it is certain that he must have been a very popular god, in whom there was great confidence. Already in letters and contracts from the time of the 1st dynasty of Babylon this holds good. We find names as ^dAdad-a-ša-ri-id, ^dAdad-e-ri-iš, ^dAdad-mu-ša-lim, ^dAdad-na-šir, ^dAdad-ra-bi, ^dAdad-ri-me-ni, ^dAdad-šar-ri-[i-li], ^dAdad-šar-sum, ^dAdad-tukul-ti, A-da-ia, A-da-ia-tum, Ad-di-li-ib-lu-uṭ, A-di-an-ni-tim.⁶⁾

But a god who was popular was a god whom people knew. A god could be known through his deeds and through the cult. In ancient conception these were only two sides of the same thing. A god acted through the cult, his acts were created there, they were not performed so to speak behind the scene, as is the more "modern" conception. Adad was popular because he was known, that is: his acts were known from the cult.

Among these acts were no doubt those of the fertility god, as we can also conclude from the words of Hammurapi in his

¹⁾ LIH, III, Lond. 1900, pp. 234 f.

²⁾ See the comprehensive list in *Hans Schlobies*: Der akkadische Wettergott in Mesopotamien. MAOG, I:3, 1925, pp. 15-22.

³⁾ LIH, III, p. 236.

⁴⁾ *Gautier*: Archives d'une famille de Dilbat au temps de la première dynastie de Babylon, nr. 46, 16.

⁵⁾ Ass. 12780 + 12794. *Ebeling, Meissner, Weidner*: Die Inschriften der alt-assyrischen Könige, Leipzig 1926, p. 17 A. 2.

⁶⁾ *F. Thureau-Dangin*: Lettres et contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie babylonienne, Paris 1910, list of names p. 12.

epilogue.¹⁾ Adad was seen in the well known form of the dying and rising god: [ina ^{arah}Nisanni] ^dAdad rigim-šu.²⁾ We have a late confirmation of this in the book of the prophet Zechariah:

In that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Hadad-Rimmon in the valley of Megiddon.

(12:11)

Adad is here mentioned as identical with Rimmon, presumably because they were both fertility gods who were seen in the rôle of the dying and rising god. The mourning mentioned is significant in this respect. Even if the evidence from the prophet Zechariah is late, there is good reason to believe that this aspect of the weather god was the same through all time.

There is evidence from a time not later than that of Hammurapi that Adad was connected also with the most important festival of the year, the *akītu*, where usually processions and dramatic performances took place. A victory stele which was originally probably set up in Arrapha (now found in Musée du Louvre, A. O. 2776) furnishes us with this evidence.³⁾ The clothes of the victorious king of the relief seem to indicate that he came from the mountains somewhere; unhappily his name is unknown, as the stele is broken. Very little is left of the first part of the stele; then it goes on:

a-na ki-ir- ^{hi} -šu e-ru-ub	I entered into their fortresses
še-pa ^d Adad be-li-ia	the feet of Adad, my master,
aš-ši-iq-ma	I kissed;
m-a-tam ša-a-ti ú-uk-ki-in	that land I fortified;
ša-ak-kin-ia aš-tak-ka-ma	my governors I established;
i-si-in ak-kit-tim	(in) the <i>akītu</i> festival
a-na ^d Šamaš u ^d Adad	to Šamaš and Adad
i-na Ar-ra-ap- ^{hi} -im ^{kl} -ma	in Arrapha
lu-ú aq-qi	I sacrificed;
warah še-gur-kud	in the month of harvest

¹⁾ See above, p. 31.

²⁾ *Vioilleaud*: L'astrologie chaldéenne, Suppl. I, LIX:28.

³⁾ See *H. de Genouillac*: Ancienne stèle de victoire, in *RA*, VII, 1910, pp. 151-156.

i-na ūm 20 kam-šu on the 20th day
 lu Za-i-ba-am e-bi-ir-ma.¹⁾ the Zab I pass over.

The unknown king of the mountain people tells that he worshipped Adad, "his master" (was his name Adad—x?). It is not clear if this means that the king was already in his homeland a worshipper of Adad (which is probable) or that he wanted to pay tribute to a famous god whose cult place he found in the newly conquered town. In any case it shows how wide-spread the cult of Adad was.

The important point, however, is that the akitu festival is found at this time and in this place. Naturally one may contend that we do not hear anything of the contents of the festival and that the contents may have changed materially through the centuries. That is theoretically possible, and there can be no doubt that changes took place, but as conservative as religious cult is, the main traits have certainly stayed unchanged. We are therefore on safe ground when assuming that the akitu festival was essentially the same at this time as it was later. That does not mean that we shall not consider the differences which existed. The festival of Arrapha did not have all the features found later in a great, rich city as Babylon.²⁾

That the chief deity of the akitu festival could be exchanged according to the demands of circumstances is well known. In Babylon Marduk had the leading rôle, in Assyria it was the national god Aššur. In Arrapha, then, it seems that Šamaš and Adad were the leading deities connected with the akitu. These two gods are often mentioned together, e.g. in Sippar, where especially in late times they were oracle gods together.³⁾ As Adad

¹⁾ Text: *de Genouillac*, p. 155 & pl. VI. There has been some discussion as to the age of this text, cf. *de Genouillac*, p. 155, and *Schlobies*, op. cit., p. 21, where further literature is mentioned. *Schlobies*'s argument is: "Die Schriftanordnung zeigt, dass die Stele nicht jünger sein kann als Hammurapizeit". *Ed. Meyer* suggested the middle of the 2nd Mill. for the text, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I:2, pp. 670 f, so in any case the text is dated to a time which is of interest for our investigation.

²⁾ Cf. *Pallis*: The Babylonian akîtu Festival.

³⁾ CT XXXVII, pl. 1-4, col. III: 87 ff, *I. N. Strassmeier*: Die Inschriften von Cyrus, 1890, Nr. 189.

was a weather god and a fertility deity there is reason to believe that he played the same rôle in the cult in Arrapha as did Marduk in Babylon.

We have evidence for the akitu festival from a place much farther to the west, from Mari. A letter from the Assyrian king Šamši-Adad I, which was found in this town, shows that the akitu festival was celebrated in Aššur by this king, who was of Amorite origin.¹⁾

The king fixed the date for the akitu festival in a certain year on the 16th Addar.²⁾ He ordered his son Yasmaḥ-Adad, who was established as a governor of Mari, to send for the festival in Aššur mules and asses with their chariots. They were intended for use in the processions, so we have here evidence that great processions took place during that festival, as was later the case also in Babylon.³⁾ This is an indication that the cult performances were done along the same lines in the time of Šamši-Adad I as they were later in times that have yielded written sources about the details of the festival. It must have been an important festival, since asses, mules and chariots were ordered the long way from Mari to Aššur. Already in Šamši-Adad's time the New Year's festival (akītu) seems to have been the chief festival of the year.

Who was then the central god of the festival in Aššur at this time? In Babylonia, where the ancient Sumerian-Babylonian gods were worshipped, Marduk was coming more and more to the fore. How strong his position was at this time is shown clearly in the prologue and the epilogue of Hammurapi's Code, where the king again and again mentions him as his master, be-lí-šu or "my master", be-lí-ia.⁴⁾ Also in Aššur Marduk came to play an im-

¹⁾ Textes cunéiformes, XXII, no. 50. The name of the festival is mentioned in line 7: a-ki-tum, (Rev.) line 13: a-na a-ki-tim, line 15: i-na a-ki-tim. Transcription and translation in Archives royales de Mari, I, pp. 104 f.

²⁾ The fixing of the date of the akitu festival is interesting. It seems to indicate that the term of the festival was fixed according to the sun year, so that it had no fixed date in the moon year. (So *von Soden*, *Die Welt des Orients*, H. 3, 1948, p. 202.) The date is here fixed to the 16th Addar. On the victory stele of Arrapha, mentioned above, it is told that the festival took place on the 20th day in the month of Addar.

³⁾ *Pallis*, op. cit. pp. 154 ff.

⁴⁾ F. ex. Prol. Col. II:9, Epil. Rev. XXV:26, 32, cf. Rev. XXIV:90, XXV:42, 56.

portant rôle, but in the time of Šamši-Adad other gods had taken the part earlier played by the Sumerian Tammuz.¹⁾ The names of Šamši-Adad and his sons show that these kings of Amorite origin had Šamaš, Adad and Dagan as their chief deities. All these gods had a rich and wide-spread cult, and one of them, if not all, surely played the chief rôle in the akitu festival.

The Mari letters also clearly show how the cult of Adad permeated the civilizations in and along the northern parts of Mesopotamia. Even if Dagan was the chief deity of Mari and the neighbouring Terqa, Adad is the god whose name is most often found as part of personal names.²⁾ I have already mentioned the cult of Adad and Šamaš in the temple of Arrapha.³⁾ Išme-Dagan, the son of Šamši-Adad I, laid out a park for the Adad temple there.⁴⁾

But also in the West Adad cult was found, farther west than in Mari, already mentioned. A famous sanctuary dedicated to Adad was found in a town not so far from Ugarit, in Halab. This town was the chief city of Iamḥad, the neighbouring country of Ugarit. So famous was its Adad temple that Zimrilim, ruler of the again independent Mari after the defeat of Šamši-Adad's sons, personally dedicated a statue to it.⁵⁾

When studying the AB cycle of the R Sh texts we shall have to bear in mind the important rôle Adad played in Mesopotamia and neighbouring countries during the time we are treating here. It may be worth mentioning already at this stage of the investigation that Adad who is identified with so many gods of the ancient Near East, is also identified with "the Syrian god Ba'al".⁶⁾

Another identification of Adad, namely with the Hurrian and Hittite storm god Teššub,⁷⁾ leads us into a new field which yields interesting parallels. In Hittite religion we find exactly the same kind of texts as we have in the AB cycle, so these parallels are very valuable.

¹⁾ *Moortgat*: Tammuz, pp. 126 ff.

²⁾ *Revue des Études Semitiques*, 1941, pp. 98 f.

³⁾ Above p. 34.

⁴⁾ *Textes cunéiformes*, XXII, no. 75, no. 136.

⁵⁾ *Syria*, 19, 1938, p. 115; 20, 1939, pp. 107 f.

⁶⁾ Ba-ʾú-lu. CT XXV, pl. 17:32. Cf. *Ebeling*: Adad, in *RLA*, 1, 1928, p. 23.

⁷⁾ CT XXV, pl. 16:18.

The identification between Adad and the Hurrian (or Hittite) weather god may actually have taken place in many cases which we cannot controvert. The name of the Hurrian/Hittite weather god was namely given in the texts through the same ideogram which was used for Adad, ¹IM.¹)

Not much is known about the Hittite weather god. He was the husband of the sun goddess of Arinna and was titled "King of Heaven, Master of the Hatti land".²) He was connected with the bull.³) Mentioned as his son is the weather god of Zippalanda, but the way in which he is sometimes mentioned seems to indicate that he was considered as identical with the old god.⁴) His cult was esteemed highly.

Another son of the weather god, Telepinuš, also played a part which was very much like that of his father. He was the young vegetation deity who played the fertility rôle that was always closely connected with Near Eastern weather and fertility deities. Some texts are left from the cult of Telepinuš. We have the cult myth of this god and it is of extreme interest that the myth as it is now found includes also the texts of the rituals to be performed in connection with the reading of this myth. We need therefore not here speculate over what is the intention of this myth and what was its "place in life". The text demonstrates clearly itself that it was intended for and used in the cult. That is of great importance, as the narrative part of this cult text is of the same character as that we meet in the AB cycle of the R Sh texts. We have here a strong indication that also the AB cycle was used in the cult.

The Telepinuš myth starts with the narrative of how the god walked away in rage.⁵) After his disappearance the vegetation dried up. Famine arose so men and gods perished from hunger. A great search for Telepinuš was started, in which even the Storm God himself took part, but all was in vain. Only the little bee

¹) Goetze: Handbuch d. Altertumskunde, 3/1/3. 1933, p. 125.

²) KUB VI:45, I, 12. Goetze, op. cit. p. 130.

³) Goetze, ibid.

⁴) KUB XXI:27, IV, 33, 41. Goetze, op. cit. p. 132.

⁵) Texts: KUB XVII:10, KUB XXXIII. Translation: Goetze, in ANET, pp. 126-28.

was able to find the vanished god and sting him. But Telepinuš did not like to be aroused from his sleep. He grew still more infuriated, stopped the springs, diverted the flowing rivers and had sheep and cattle perish. The gods deliberated what to do. They needed help and they decided to ask man for this help.

At this point the narrative stops for a while. That must have been completely in accordance with the cultic performance. What follows next is the ritual for the cult acts whereby Telepinuš was supposed to be made willing to abandon his anger. The details in the ritual are given, what to sacrifice and what accompanying words that are to be used. Three successive rituals are given, the last of them man's ritual: "—let the word of me, the mortal, stop Telepinuš' rage, anger, and fury!"¹⁾)

The result of the cultic performances is told: Telepinuš came home and abandoned his anger. Here the narrative is taken up again. Life starts anew when the god is back. Fertility is restored, cattle, pastures and fields are again thriving. "Also Telepinuš tended the king and the queen and provided them with enduring life and vigour".²⁾)

The importance of the Telepinuš myth for our investigation must be stressed. We have here what is very seldom found—a complete cult text where the rituals have been handed down together with the narrative parts. This is no accidental circumstance, as one will see in checking the text. The narrative as told before the rituals are introduced, is led to a point where confusion is complete and where the necessity of strong remedies are made clear for everybody. The remedies are given in the rituals and they could therefore simply not be omitted in this case, which is no doubt the reason why they are handed down together with the narrative part of the myth.³⁾)

¹⁾ Telepinuš Myth, IV:6 f.

²⁾ TM IV:26 f.

³⁾ *H. Otten* admits in his "Die Überlieferungen des Telipinu-Mythus", 1942, that myth and rite constitute an organic unity in "Fassung C" [more than in versions A and B]. But he is not willing to draw any conclusion from this: "Dass sie auch ursprünglich zusammenggehört haben, ist damit noch nicht bewiesen". Naturally, it is not "bewiesen", but when one thinks of myths as the spoken part of a ritual, *Otten's* remark reverses the whole thing. According to *Otten* version D of the Telepinuš myth is "kein reiner Mythus", (p. 66), because

In other myths the connection between narrative parts and rituals have not always had this character. It is very special and cannot be expected to be found so often. Actually, the situation was more often that the reading of the narrative parts and the cultic performance went alongside. As the performances were supposed to be known to the cult servants, no directions are given in the text. In this case we cannot expect to find many traces of the rituals.

There are also other reasons why we so seldom find rituals in connection with the myths. One is that scholars have not even been interested in seeing the two in connection. When narrative parts of myths found during excavations have been published, scholars did not have the same interest for the rituals which they considered as inferior to the myths. This attitude must, however, also have existed in ancient times, though probably not for the same reason. The texts handed down and found during excavations, are often dug out of libraries and archives. In Boghazköy the Hittite documents were mainly from a royal archive and as the king was the highest authority also for the temple and the cult, all kinds of religious texts have been found. We have here a many-sided collection giving us a very good picture of the Hittite religion.

Also from other areas we have comprehensive collections, as

a queen is mentioned there by name. It is "somit keine Mythenerzählung als Selbstzweck, kein reiner Naturmythus . . . , der das periodisch-alljährliche Verschwinden und Wiederkehren des Vegetationsgottes erzählt". If the myths were intended for use in the cult, the mentioning of a certain queen causes no trouble. It is likely that the queen and the king played an important rôle in a cult where these myths were part of the ritual, and there is no reason for astonishment if a queen is mentioned by name. *Otten* is, however, right in stating that the several versions show that "keine kanonische Überlieferung vorliegt" (p. 69). Against the opinion of *Otten* it must also be said that the real myth is seldom a "pure nature myth", but a cult myth, as has been convincingly shown by e. g. *Mowinkel*, *Psalmstudien* II pp. 19 ff, *Religion og kultus* pp. 79 ff, 98. The myth sprang from the cult and expressed what happened there and what had once happened (*Religion og kultus*, pp. 79 ff). The cult drama was accompanied by texts. Words and acts were closely connected. That is the reason why the texts are so often fragmentary, as they were supplemented with acts of different kinds. As an example *Mowinkel* mentions the Babylonian myth about the descent of Ishtar to the realm of death, *Religion og kultus*, p. 98.

from Sumerian and Assyrian-Babylonian religion. In many cases we can see how myths and rituals were connected, but in others the myths seem to have lived their own lives and lost their connection with the cult.¹⁾ It is, however, nearly impossible to find this out. In ancient times the narrative parts of the myths could be handed down without the need of saying anything about the cultic performance. The rituals were known through long, oral tradition or they were kept with the priests of the temples. Analogies, among others from Hindu religion, show that the rituals could be handed down through centuries in oral tradition.

The texts from R Sh were found in king Niqmad's library, located in a building situated between the temples of Baal and Dagan. For some reason the collector (or the collectors) seemed to be particularly interested in collecting and handing down myths, that is: their narrative parts, and legends. The collector has not been interested in the accompanying rituals, or it may be that he found a situation as mentioned above: the rituals were given in oral tradition or they were simply supposed to be known, so they were not found in written form.

As mentioned earlier the R Sh texts may be cult texts which have come to a stage where their connection with the cult life began to be less close.²⁾ It has been observed that the style of the R Sh texts is far advanced.³⁾ This is right, but the question is what that means. It may mean that the texts have been under a special literary reworking in order to make them more pleasant for the audience for whom they were to be read. That is a possibility which cannot be completely disregarded. On the other hand we are not entitled to believe that this literary "polishing" needed to take place only in this way. The temple tradition in which the texts lived, was not arbitrary. It was under constant control by learned priests and scribes, who represented the height of culture of their time. The texts were recited frequently in the cult and there is reason to believe that the style was polished and refined during these recitals. The texts may therefore have

¹⁾ *Pallis*: The Babylonian akîtu Festival, pp. 252 ff, 297 ff.

²⁾ Above, p. 26. Cf. *Engnell*: Studies in Divine Kingship, p. 104, and *Pallis*: op. cit., p. 299.

³⁾ *Goetze*, JAOS, 69, 1949, p. 180.

got their elegant simplicity already before they were written down.

At any rate there may be several reasons why the texts from the AB cycle are not accompanied by the rituals which were probably used in the cultic performances. Though we may now have the AB cycle in an over-worked form, there can be no doubt that it was originally intended for use in the cult.

Also the contents of the AB cycle, clearly treating a vegetation deity and his importance for fertility, indicate the likelihood that these texts are cultic in their character. There is reason to underline this fact, as we have among the R Sh texts a short and very frank little myth, of a type which is found nearly all over the globe in popular folklore.¹⁾ One would tend to think that this humorous tale was created in circles which had very little to do with cultic life and that the myth itself had nothing to do with cult! But the text itself (Gordon no. 52),²⁾ "The Birth of Dawn and Dusk," disproves this point of view and gives clear evidence that it was used in the cult. The sacrifices connected with the myth are mentioned.

ṭb[ḥ g]d. bḥlb. annḥ bḥmat	Coo[k a ki]d in milk, a lamb
w'1. agn. šb'dm. dg[.]t	in butter,
(52: 14 f)	And by the flame, seven
	times, the offer[ing]. ³⁾ .

Directions for the cultic use are given directly:

šb'd. yrḥm.	Seven times it is to be recited
°1. °d. w'rbm. t'nyn	to the accompaniment of the lute
(52: 12)	and the choristers declaim: ⁴⁾

The cultic use of this sensuous and somewhat talkative myth shows that we need indeed strong evidence to maintain that the AB cycle is *not* intended for cultic use. We are on safer ground in saying that it was.

Thus indications from the texts themselves as well as analogies from neighbouring religions point in the same direction. They

¹⁾ "The description . . . is one of the frankest and most sensuous in ancient Near-Eastern literature", *W. F. Albright*, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 1942, p. 73.

²⁾ Syria, 14, 1933, pp. 128-151.

³⁾ *Gordon's* transl., UL, p. 59.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*

show that these texts which we for the sake of convenience call the AB cycle were originally cult texts, created for use in religious rites connected with the fertility cult.

As mentioned before this is no question of merely academical interest. If the texts treating Baal, his life and death, are originally cult texts (and were possibly still so in the form in which they have come down to us), this will again and again have consequences for our interpretation of them. Traits which might seem enigmatic from a purely literary point of view, may be clear when seen from a cultic point of view. Points which may seem important in one case, may turn out to be rather unimportant in the other and vice versa. The application in details of a cultic point of view will be demonstrated in the following treatment where I shall try to find out the important points in the character of Baal.

III. THE NAMES OF THE GOD

1. Ba'al.

The name Ba'al, b'l, probably ba'lu, is frequently found in the R Sh texts. It is found alone as well as in composite names like aliyn. b'l and b'l. špn.¹⁾ It is in nearly all cases used as a personal name for a god.

b'l was well known and much used in the ancient Near East as a designation for a deity who was closely connected with fertility, field and cattle. The word was in daily use for "lord, master, owner", e.g. Assyrian bēl bīti, "lord of the house". Thus it did not necessarily need to have a religious meaning, but as soon as it was used within the sphere of religion, the connection with a god of the type mentioned was usually clear. In an early time in Israel's history Yahweh was identified with Baal, as many proper names show: אִשְׁבַּעַל, called אִישׁ־בַּשֶּׁת by later traditionists, the son of Saul, II Sam 2-4, I Chr. 8:33, 9:39; בַּעֲלִידָע, the son of David, II Sam 5:16, I Chr 14:7; בַּעֲלִיָּה, I Chr 12:5; יִרְבַּעַל, Judges 6:32, 7:1, II Sam 11:21; מַרְיִבַּעַל, מַרְיִבְעַל, I Chr 9:40, 8:34. These names were used in typical Yahwistic circles and there can

¹⁾ See below, pp. 47 ff.

be no doubt that Yahweh is here identified with Baal. This means that the worship of Baal was so deeply rooted in this early period of Israel's history that the only way to master it for the Israelites was to identify Yahweh with Baal.¹⁾ This could not be done without Yahweh's acquiring many of the characteristics of Baal. If not, the name of Baal could not have been used at all.

In a case like this three things may happen. God A absorbs god B, god B absorbs A, or the characteristics of A and B are so similar that they are simply fused. In Israel a long struggle ended in a victory for Yahweh; the features taken over from Baal were expelled. How things went in Ugarit we shall see later. The example from the time of Saul and David has, however, shown that the name of Baal may easily hide that of another god.

The way in which the designation **בעל** is used in the Old Testament may give some clue as to how the word is used also in the R Sh texts. I have already pointed to the fact that the name can be used for a god actually bearing another name. This was, however, a very special case. Used in connection with gods the designation is usually found in the plur., used about the many local deities and their pictures, scattered over most of Canaan, Judges 2:11, 3:7, 8:33, 10:10, I Sam 7:4, 12:10, I Kings 18:18 Jer 2:23, 9:13 e.a. Scholars assume that this is the original use of the word, in religious connections. It may be found also in the R Sh texts. In a text with the head-line *bt. il* we find a list, running thus:

b'l. bt. a?smny
 b'l. bt. pdy
 b'l. bt. nqlly
 b'l. bt. 'lr
 b'l. bt. ssl 2)

We have here listed b'l of several places, probably temples, but apart from the list no further information is given. Here one may speak of local Baals.

The Old Testament knows also another use of the designation

¹⁾ Cf. *H. S. Nyberg*: Studien zum Religionskampf im Alten Testament, ARW, 35, 1938, pp. 329-387.

²⁾ Gordon No. 14, lines 2-6. The following 5 lines go on in the same way.

בעל. It is used about a deity of the Canaanites, in a way which shows that it is used as a proper name, Judges 6:25, I Kings 16:31 f, 18:19 ff, 19:18. It is clear from I Kings 18 that this Baal was a rain and storm god, expected to be able to bring rainfall and fertility when he was asked to do so.

A perusal of the R Sh texts shows that it is in this way that the designation b'l is used there, in practically all cases.¹⁾ b'l does not designate any local or undefined deity from the Ugarit pantheon. It is the name of one of the leading gods; we may possibly say: the leading god. It seems to be the god who from ancient times was the chief in the Ugarit pantheon, but he has clearly receded for the strong and determined storm and rain god Baal.

The designation b'l used alone, unconnected with other substantives or adjectives, is the name most frequently used about the god in question. In the texts hitherto published²⁾ it is found about 150 times in this way, more than twice as often as the second frequently used designation, aliyn b'l, which also contains the word b'l. aliyn b'l is found about 70 times. Also many other combinations with b'l are found.³⁾ Designations including the name b'l are found in about 240 cases, while other designations mentioning the same god are found in ca. 80 cases. The name b'l alone is thus found nearly twice as often as all other names and titles, not including that name, are found together. It is used in nearly all the texts speaking about the god concerned. Only in a few minor texts it is accidentally not found. Instead of it we find there the form aliyn. b'l, another designation for the same god.⁴⁾ One of these texts, 132, is so fragmentary that no conclusions can be drawn. Text 128 is part of the Krt text and mentions aliyn. b'l only incidentally. So is the case also with 125 where b'l. špn is mentioned in lines 6 f and 107. Text 107 has a list of divine names where b'l. špn and b'l. ugrt are found. None of these texts give the impression that we have here a different Baal from the usual one mentioned in the larger parts of the AB cycle.

¹⁾ See the possible exceptions mentioned above.

²⁾ Gordon's Texts in transliteration, UH II, An Or 25, Roma 1947.

³⁾ See below, pp. 58 ff.

⁴⁾ See below, p. 47.

On the other hand it is very difficult to find a text where the designation *b'l* is used exclusively. This is the case in no. 77, "The Wedding of Nikkal and the Moon", where Baal is again mentioned only accidentally, lines 26 and 27. In I & II Aqht, however, Baal is frequently mentioned, 27 times, but the designation *b'l* is not used exclusively. We find also another wellknown title of Baal, *rkb. 'rpt*, I Aqht:43 f, used parallel with *b'l*. Apart from this place, where a parallel to the name Baal was necessary, the designation *b'l* is preferred in the Aqht texts.

In the other texts *b'l* is found together with other names or titles, in frequent use. The distribution of the different names and titles is not thus, then, that one designation is found exclusively in one or several texts and another one in other texts. The usual distribution is that they are used side by side in the same texts. Often the change of designation is clearly caused by the demands of the poetic parallelism,¹⁾ but in other cases this reason cannot be found. There may sometimes be cultic reasons, because of which the god had to do special tasks under a certain name, but there is no clear indication of this. It seems to be an ancient custom to change name of the god in texts like these; we find the same phenomenon also in Israelite Psalms and in the ancient narratives of the Pentateuch.²⁾ It was simply a stylistic device. We can see this clearly in R Sh., e.g. in 67:II:4-11, where 4 different designations are used in these 8 lines alone, one of them twice to create a nice parallelism (10 f).

It is not necessary to go into detail about how the designation *b'l* is used. It is clearly used like a personal name. In text no. 62 we find the name as headline: *lb'l*, "concerning Baal" or "for Baal", line 1. There can be no doubt that the name most frequently used to designate the Ugarit fertility god was the West Semitic *b'l*. The fact that this designation is most often found alone, without adjectives, genitives or appositions, supports this view. For the worshippers of Ugarit (city and country) there was only one Baal of dominating interest: the one they knew from the cult and from the texts usually read in connection with the cult.

¹⁾ Cf. e.g. 51:VII:13 ff, 23 f, 49:V:10 f, 'nt:IV:50 f.

²⁾ I cannot adhere to the simple—and wrong—view that the change of name of the deity in the Pentateuch usually means that different sources are involved.

That also other designations were used we shall see below, but that does not change the fact that the one most used was Baal.

2. Aliyn b'l.

Another designation frequently used is aliyn b'l. In the texts available it is used about 70 times, that is nearly half as often as b'l alone. b'l is much used in texts which are not part of the AB cycle (I & II Aqht, Krt) and is also found 9 times in no. 75, a text which does not fit well into the AB cycle and somehow must be considered to be of a special character. We can therefore say that in the central texts of the AB cycle ('nt, nos. 49, 51, 62, 67 and 76) aliyn b'l is found nearly as often as b'l alone. How parallel the two designations are used, can be seen from the following figures: in text no. 51 they are both used 20 times, in no. 49 both 13 times, in 'nt b'l is found 8 times. Statistics, however have, to be used with some caution. In the text no. 76 b'l is found 15 times, while aliyn b'l is found only 5 times. But in this text b'l interchanges in the finest way with other designations, of which aliyn b'l is only one.

Interesting is also the case in no. 62, with the heading lb'l. In spite of this heading the text speaks about aliyn b'l 8 times, but only 3 times about b'l. aliyn b'l is used as the designation where sacrifices for Baal are listed, which may be a hint that aliyn b'l was a name preferred in the sacrificial terminology.

The text no. 62 also gives a clear indication that b'l and aliyn b'l are identical. When the first texts were dug out at Ras Shamra, the excavators were of the opinion that the names b'l and aliyn b'l designated different gods.¹⁾ Though a few scholars still adhere to this view,²⁾ it has been abandoned by the majority as untenable. The names b'l and aliyn b'l interchange freely again and again in the texts, and the result would indeed be curious if we should try to draw a line between two gods. We should then get two gods whose characteristics are the same and who act in the same way. The distinction between b'l and aliyn b'l cannot be held, and

¹⁾ *Virolleaud*, Syria XII, 1931, pp. 193-224; XV, 1934, pp. 226-43, *Dussaud*, RHR 111, 1935, pp. 5-65; 105, 1932, pp. 245-302.

²⁾ *C.F.A. Schaeffer*, Cun. Texts, pp. 46, 68 f.

no. 62 is one of the texts which shows this clearly. The headline, l. 1: 1b'1, shows that we have a text treating Baal. He is mentioned in l. 6 and 7 in parallelism with bn.dgn and it is told that he is dead. A "she" who is supposed to be Anat (l. 15), asks the Sun God to help her lift the dead Baal upon her shoulders, lines 11-15. Here the designation aliyn. b'1 is used twice. The dead Baal, then, is identical with aliyn. b'1. No second corpse is mentioned, so there is no choice. Anat buries the dead god and brings rich sacrifices for him, these sacrifices being offered for aliyn. b'1, lines 19-29.

An analogous use of the designation b'1 and aliyn. b'1 is found again and again in the texts. Characteristic is no. 67, which tells of the death of Baal:

mg'ny. 1b'1. npl. larš	We came upon Baal prostrate on
	the earth
mt. aliyn b'1	Dead is Aliyan Baal
hlq. zbl. b'1. arš ¹⁾	Perished is the Prince, Lord of Earth! ²⁾

The parallelism here makes it completely clear that Baal and Aliyan Baal are identical. Also logically seen it is improbable that we should here have two dead gods. The only possible conclusion is that the two names designate the same god.

Parallelisms of this kind are not only found in texts treating the death of Baal; they are scattered throughout the texts. In the text 51:VI:35 ff the designations aliyn. b'1, b'1 and hd are used parallel about the god when he built his temple, cf. also 51:VII:35 ff. Again and again the names b'1 and aliyn. b'1 are interchanging, see e.g. 68:28-32, 'nt IV:50 ff, 51:II:13 ff and 22 ff, III:10f and 17 f, V:88 and 97 f, VI:2 ff. As I have shown this interchanging took place in nearly all texts. There are no special texts where the one or the other name is preferred. The god is fighting, building temples, giving rain, procreating, dying and rising under both names. There is absolutely no difference between the tasks of the god under the one or the other name. Both names are also used in the sacrificial terminology, Krt 77 & 170; 62:19-29, and we

¹⁾ 67:VI:8-10.

²⁾ Gordon's transl., UL, p. 42.

have no evidence that one of them was preferred in this connection.

We shall therefore have to draw some conclusions. *aliyn. b'l* and *b'l* designate the same god. The two designations can be used interchangeably and there is absolutely no difference in the way the two are used. Also other names were used, as we shall soon see, and the change of names must be considered as a purely stylistic device.¹⁾ Baal and Aliyan Baal were never different gods who were later combined into one god. The difference between *b'l* and *aliyn. b'l* was only terminological. If it existed before the texts were written down, it must be supposed to have come from the cult where a poetic interchange of this kind is often found.²⁾

When we have thus ascertained that the difference between the two designations is only of a terminological nature, it is clear that we shall have to reject the opinion that Aliyan Baal might be an aspect of Baal.³⁾ No difference between Baal and Aliyan Baal can be found; they are both the same god, the same "aspect".

We shall also have to reject the opinion that the form *aliyn. bn. b'l*, found in 67:II:17, represents a "new 'dédoublement'" of Baal.⁴⁾ *Johs. Pedersen* is no doubt right in considering this form as a miswriting.⁵⁾ There is good reason for this, as the form *aliyn. bn. b'l* is used in a formula found several times in the R Sh texts: *tħm. aliyn. b'l. hwt. ali. qrdm., 'nt:III:10 f, IV:51 f, VI:24 f, 51:VIII:33 f, 67:II:10 f*. Only in 67:II:17 do we find *aliyn. bn. b'l* instead of *aliyn. b'l*, and it is obviously a miswriting.

As to the meaning of the designation *aliyn*, which has to be vocalized 'al'iyān, there is no longer any doubt: "the One who Prevails". Scholars agree in deriving the name from the root l'y, "to prevail, to be strong". *Birkeland* sees the name as an 'aqṭilān

¹⁾ So also *Gordon*, UL, p. 6.

²⁾ Cf. the O.T. Psalms, where Yahweh is mentioned under several names.

³⁾ *Engnell*: *Studies in Divine Kingship*, p. 172.

⁴⁾ *Engnell*, op. cit. p. 172.

⁵⁾ *Acta Orientalia*, 18, p. 3. Another opinion is found in *R. de Langhe*: *Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs apports à l'histoire des origines du peuple hébreu*, 1939, p. 34, note 90, and *O. Eissfeldt*: *El im ugaritischen Pantheon*, 1951, p. 21, note 5.

nomen type, a broken plur. of li' ai.¹⁾ *Virolleaud* and *Albright* hold that Al'iyân(u) is an abbreviation of the full formula 'al'iyu qurâdîma qâriyêya ba'arši malḥâmati. The ending ânu or anu was one of the commonest endings of abbreviated names in Ugaritic.²⁾

aliyn is always used in connection with b'l, as far as we can see from the texts. (A combination with aliy will be mentioned below.) It can be considered as a name, with b'l as a necessary apposition. It may also be considered as some kind of a honorary title, "The One who Prevails: Baal".

3. Hadad.

About 20 times we find Baal named with the name Hadad or with some combination containing this name. It is the name of the ancient Semitic storm god and it is of great importance that this god is identified with Baal in Ugaritic religion.

The internationality of this deity is reflected in the different forms of the name found also in the R Sh texts. In text 103, which seems to be an Akkadian text written in the Ugaritic alphabet, we find the Akkadian form add, lines 5 and 17.³⁾ This form was apparently not often used in Ugarit, nor was the form hdd, as used in Hebrew. We find it in 133:rev. 6. The form preferred in Ugarit was hd, found in the great majority of the cases where the name is used. While 107:9 has il. add, we find il hd in 76:II:2,5; III:9; 75:I:41 (?), II:6, 23. This gives a fairly correct picture of the distribution of the several forms. The designation hd seems to indicate that in Ugarit the god was called Hadd(u), which has its parallels in the Addu of the Amarna letters. Cf. also the Mari letters.

The designation hd alone is the form most often found, 51:VI:39, VII:36, 38; 67:I:23, II:22, IV:7, 75:II:55; 76:II:33; 'nt pl. X:V:4,17. In most of these places, as also in other places

¹⁾ Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, 9, 1938, pp. 338 ff.

²⁾ *Virolleaud*, Syria XII, pp. 196, 356, *Albright*, JPOS, 12, 1932, pp. 188 ff, BASOR, 70, p. 19; From Stone Age, pp. 198, 325 (note 41); Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, pp. 73, 195 (note 11).

³⁾ Cf. also il add in 107:9.

where Hadad is mentioned, he is found in close parallelism with Baal. As parallelism demands that the god be mentioned in two lines, each time with a separate name, a variant to the designation Baal is necessary. *hd* and *il hd* clearly serve this purpose. We have again, as in the case of *aliyn. b'l* a stylistic variant. The case is, however, not quite identical. While *aliyn. b'l* never was anything else but a variant name for *b'l*, *hd* was the name of a well known god worshipped also in other countries. In the case of *aliyn. b'l* and *b'l* we have two different names for the same god. In the case of *hd* and *b'l* we have actually two different gods who are identified. The identification is done again and again, 51:VI:38 f, VII:35 ff; 67:I:22 f;¹⁾ 75:I:40 f, II:5 f, 22 f, 54 f; 76:II:1 ff, 32 f. The passages cited here leave no room for doubt: Baal is the West Semitic rain and storm god, identical with the well-known and much worshipped Hadad,²⁾ whose cult was spread nearly all over the Near East at this time, as pointed out above.³⁾

The identification of Baal with Hadad must have taken place a long time before the R Sh texts were written down. The author has no longer any feeling that he is mentioning different gods when using the different designations. To him *hd* is simply another name of Baal, as was also *aliyn. b'l*. He chooses the name in parallelism with Baal, probably because he finds it characteristic. It is used in several kinds of situations and like *aliyn. b'l* it cannot be ascribed to any particular stage or situation in the life of Baal, nor to any special cultic use. It gives, however, a most valuable clue to a right understanding of the character of Baal, showing clearly the tradition in which this figure belongs.

Of a special interest is the combination *šgr. hd* in 133:rev. 11, where it is found in close parallelism with *zbl b'l. ḡlm*, "Prince Baal, the young boy", line 10. According to this parallelism and to the identification between Baal and Hadad found in other contexts, the translation of *šgr hd* must be "the young Hadad" or "the youth Hadad". (The context in the text 133 itself is too unclear to allow any conclusions on the basis of it.)

¹⁾ Gordon, UH, p. 148, gives here *hb* instead of *hd*.

²⁾ So also in the Amarna letters.

³⁾ Pp. 30 ff.

It is of importance that the youth of the god is underlined. This was often the case with fertility gods, especially later with Adonis.

Baal Hadad has retained not only his character as a dying and rising fertility god, but also his storm god features as a fighting god. In the enigmatic text no. 133 a bow (qšt) is mentioned in connection with him, l. 6. Cf. also 76:II:5 ff. In no. 137, l. 46, he is directly mentioned as a fighter, gmr. hd. The meaning of gmr is not clear, but the word is used in 49:VI:16 and the context indicates that the word designates a strong and wild animal, "capable of fighting ferociously".¹⁾

The ancient symbol of Hadad, the bull, is not expressly mentioned in connection with this name in the R Sh texts. The symbol is, however, kept, as Baal is several times mentioned as a bull, 67:V:17 ff, 76:III:14 ff. Baal has completely taken over the tasks of Hadad; the identification is complete. The two gods have become so merged into each other in Ugaritic religion that they can no more be separated.

4. bn. dgn.

Baal is characterized also by another designation of a type much used in the Near East: bn. dgn. This designation is found only in parallelism with b'l, never with aliyn. b'l or hd. This is a fine indication again, that b'l is the original name of this god and that it is a real name. In connection with hd some uncertainty as to whose son this originally foreign god was, may have been felt. It looks as if the designation bn. dgn was not used separately, only when a parallel to b'l was wanted, 49:I:24 (probably also V:6); 62:6; 67:VI:23 f; 75:I:39, II:26; 76:III:13, 15; 137:19, 35, 37; Krt 78, 170. In one place, 76:III:35, we find the designation ḥtk. dgn. the meaning of which is not quite clear. The word seems to be ambivalent, meaning both "father", Krt 21, 22; 49:IV:35, and "son", Krt:10; 76:III:35. In the place last mentioned the word seems to mean "son", according to the parallel bn. dgn, whose occurrences are listed above.

Whenever the designation bn. dgn is used in the texts, there

¹⁾ Gordon, UH, no. 478, p. 221.

can be no doubt that Baal was really considered the son of Dagan, and not the son of Il, the chief deity of the Ugaritic pantheon. What implications may be hidden in this fact I shall discuss later.¹⁾

The rôle of Dagan in the Ugaritic religion seems to have been far more important than can be seen from the texts found in R Sh. Of the two great temples excavated one was dedicated to Baal (as might have been expected from the texts) and the other to Dagan.²⁾ There must thus have been a cult for Dagan, and one day texts concerning him may be found. Two stelae dedicated to Dagan have been dug out.³⁾

This god, who was worshipped by the Philistines centuries later,⁴⁾ was well known in Mesopotamia already at an early age. Sargon of Akkad offered worship to Dagan in Tutuli, šar-ru-ki-nu šār in tu-tu-li^{kl} a-na ^dda-gan uš-ga-en.⁵⁾ The Amorite kings who reigned in Isin in the beginning of the 2nd mill. B.C. after the downfall of the 3rd dynasty of Ur seem to have been worshippers of Dagan, as indicated by the names Iddin-Dagān and Išmē-Dagān. The founder of the dynasty of Isin, Išbi-Erra, who took part in the overthrowing of the 3rd dynasty, came from Mari, centre in Amorite territory and probably also a centre for the worship of Dagan.⁶⁾

King Hammurapi of Babylon called himself "the subduer of the settlements along the Euphrates through the strength of Dagan, his creator",⁷⁾ mu-ka-an-ni-iš da-ad-mi ^{na}UD. KIB.NUN.NA lí-tum ^dDa-gan ba-ni-šu.⁸⁾

Šamši-Ādad I of Aššur was also, like his great contemporary, of Amorite origin. His son, who became king after him, was Išmē-Dagān I. His name indicates beyond doubt that this Amorite

¹⁾ Pp. 64 ff.

²⁾ C. F. A. Schaeffer, Syria, XVI, 1935, p. 155, Cun. Texts, p. 8.

³⁾ R. Dussaud, Syria, XVI, 1935, p. 177.

⁴⁾ Judges 16:23, I Sam 5:2.

⁵⁾ Barton: Royal Inscriptions, p. 108.

⁶⁾ Cf. Dossin, Studia Mariana, Leiden 1950, pp. 41-61; Dhorme, RHR, CXXXVIII, 1950, pp. 137 ff.

⁷⁾ Meek's transl., ANET, p. 165.

⁸⁾ CH, prologue, col. IV:24-28.

family were worshippers of Dagan (as well as of Adad and Šamaš). The important rôle played by Dagan in this period can therefore be considered as well proved. It is, however, of great interest that in no place where Dagan was worshipped have any myths about him or other texts giving some information about his character been found. This curious fact may also explain why there has not been found such texts in R Sh, though remaining a riddle in itself.

There is little doubt that Dagan was a vegetation or fertility god, closely connected with the grain, which has taken over his name (in Hebrew). The legendary Sanchuniathon was aware of this and ascribed to Dagan the invention of grain and of the plow.¹⁾

Because Baal is considered to be the son of Dagan, it is probable that he has also got something of the same character. We have already seen that this is the case, and it will be even clearer. Already the fact that Baal is considered to be the son of Dagan may be an indication that Baal in relation to Dagan is seen as an offsplit of this god, the young fertility god.

It is interesting that these two gods are put in such a close connection. This goes well with the fact that the temples of the two gods were found in the neighbourhood of each other, both lying in dominating positions in the upper part of the town. Baal and Dagan seem to have been the most important gods of the town, and the texts, even when not mentioning Dagan otherwise, have marked this in linking the two gods together as father and son.

As to the fact that Baal is one of the most important persons in the texts while Dagan is only accidentally mentioned as his father, I should like to call attention to some archaeological features which may be of interest. A glance at the plan of the temples as revealed by the excavations shows that the two temples are strikingly different.²⁾

The Dagan temple has two closed rooms, separated by a thick wall. The whole temple gives an impression of great compactness,

¹⁾ According to *Philo of Byblos*, in *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, III, Paris 1928, p. 568: "Dagan autem, quod frumentum et aratrum invenisset". See further *Langdon*, *Mythology of All Races*, V, 78 ff.; *Dhorme*, *RHR*, CXXXVIII, 1950, pp. 129-144.

²⁾ *C. F. A. Schaeffer*, *Cun. Texts*, plate XXXIX.

with heavy walls, up to 5 meters thick. The two rooms are small, one about 5×5 meters, the other slightly larger. There seem to have been some minor rooms connected with the temple, and probably a court. The closed character of this temple makes it very difficult to determine what kind of a cult took place there.

Of quite another character is the Baal temple. The outward size of the two temples is practically the same. But the walls of the Baal temple do not exceed 2 m. in thickness, so the two rooms are therefore considerably larger. The naos is 8×12 m., the pronaos about 8×8 m. In this temple there is no wall between the two rooms. Furthermore the temple is open in the end of the pronaos which faces the court. What was performed in the pronaos, probably also in the naos, could be seen from the court where it is likely that the cult audience gathered. The court was large enough to hold a great audience. In front of the pronaos an altar was located.

In the naos, at the east end, a great stone block is found. *Schaeffer* has convincingly shown that a staircase led up between the wall and this stone block, to the terrace on the temple roof.¹⁾ Here sacrifices were offered to Il and Baal, according to the Krt-text, 70-80, 159-172.

It seems likely that the peculiar character of the temple of Dagan did not allow public cultic performances. What happened there must have been for the few. We have no textual evidence, so we have no clue as to what was done there. The situation for the Baal temple is quite another. Here we have a temple clearly built for public performance of cultic acts. Here the great cultic dramas could take place and there was abundant space for the audience. We probably have the accompanying texts among the R Sh texts, and we have got another indication that the AB cycle was closely connected with the cult.

Why there is this difference between the temple of Baal and that of Dagan and consequently also between the cult of the two deities we cannot explain. There is a possibility that the two gods represent different aspects of the fertility god, that his tasks and features were split up and divided between them. If that is right—and so

¹⁾ Op. cit., p. 67.

far it seems to be so—Baal is clearly thought of as the young fertility god, the son of Dagan, the one who was really active in connection with all sides of fertility. As a corollary he was then the god who was acting in the cult, as the gods' actions were always expressed through the cult. Dagan, however, as the old god receded more into the background, while the feeling of his might and power seems to have been living on. The character of Dagan's temple and the cult which probably took place there may give a clue to an explanation of the astonishing fact that no real Dagan myths have been found.¹⁾

The most interesting feature in connection with Baal and Dagan is, however, that Baal is characterized as the son of an ancient vegetation deity who is rarely found among the gods of the Ugaritic pantheon, as this is given in the texts excavated.

As mentioned above Dagan is not found acting in the narrative parts of the texts (= myths, see above pp. 14 f.). That does not mean that he is not mentioned in other texts from R Sh. As I have already mentioned²⁾ his name is found on two sacrificial stelae dedicated to him,³⁾ which shows that his place in the cultic life after all must have been more important than the excavated texts let us know.

Dagan is further mentioned in a list of gods, but nothing more is said of him there; he is just listed, 17:16. Sacrifices for him are mentioned in two ritual texts, nos. 9 and 19. The same kind of sacrifice is suggested for Il, Baal and Dagan, 9:3. The context in 19:5 is so fragmentary that no conclusions can be drawn.

When we see how often Baal, Il, Anat, Asherah, Mot and other deities are depicted as acting in the R Sh texts, it remains a riddle why Dagan, who had an important temple in Ugarit, is so completely neglected there. The only explanation can be that Baal, his "son", had taken over his place. If this is the solution it still leaves open the question of the relationship between Dagan/Baal and the other gods of the Ugaritic pantheon.

¹⁾ This does naturally not exclude the possibility that one day Dagan myths may be found. It is only an attempt to find an explanation of some facts which are not otherwise easily explained.

²⁾ P. 53.

³⁾ Texts nos. 69 and 70. (Gordon: UH.)

5. Lord of Sapan.

In many cases Baal is mentioned in connection with špn, his holy mountain.¹⁾ Sapan was the place where Baal reigned as king, 49:I:29 ff. There he lived, 51:IV:19, and there ʿAnat buried him when he was dead, 62:14 ff.

It is probably Baal who is mentioned under the name špn, in two lists of sacrifices, 3:34, 43; 9:4,7. There can be no doubt, however, as to the name bʿl. špn, found also mainly in lists of gods or sacrifices, 1:10, 9:14, 107:10, but also in the Krt legend, 125:6 f, 107. When this designation was no longer in use, the reason may be that it was simply not necessary, as Baal's connection with the mountain was so well known. This is even more probable if Sapan has to be identified with Jebel Aqra, the ancient Mons Casius, which can be seen from Ras Shamra.²⁾

In the Anat-text Baal calls himself "god of Sapan", il špn, ʿnt:III:26, IV:63, probably also pl. IX:III:16. The same designation is found in the list of gods 17:13 (rev.).

Parallel designations are used, "Baal of the heights of Sapan"; bʿl. mrym. špn, 51:V:85, 67:I:10 f, ʿnt:IV:81 f, bʿl. šrrt. špn, 49:VI:12 f, bʿl bšrrt. špn, ʿnt:I:21 f.

The several designations prove beyond doubt that Baal was the god of the mountain Sapan. As mentioned it is also directly told that Baal lived on the mountain and reigned there. This then gives us a new clue to a right understanding of his character; it is again the identification with Hadad that comes out. The mountain Jebel Aqra was more often than not shrouded in heavy clouds, and as rain and clouds came in from the Mediterranean and encircled the mountain, the people in Ugarit might well have had the impression that the thunder and rain came from it. It was only natural that this mountain was considered the living-place of the rain god and that a cult place in honour of him may have been found there.³⁾

¹⁾ Cf. *O. Eissfeldt*: Baal Zaphon. Halle 1932.

²⁾ *Eissfeldt*: op. cit. and *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 20, 1944, pp. 25-27; *Albright*, JPOS, 12, 1932, pp. 192, *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet zum 80. Geburtstag*, Tübingen 1950, pp. 1-14.

³⁾ To all this, see *O. Eissfeldt*: Baal Zaphon, Halle 1932, and in *Forschungen*

The examples of the use of $\text{\$pn}$ in the name of the god, given above, show that such names seem to have been somewhat preferred in connection with sacrifices and rituals. $\text{\$pn}$ and b'l . $\text{\$pn}$ seem to have been exclusively used in such connections, but it must be admitted that the number of examples found in the texts hitherto published, is too small to allow decisive conclusions. In Krt 77 f and 170, where sacrifices to Baal are mentioned, the designations b'l and bn . dgn are used, but no name containing the element $\text{\$pn}$. Nevertheless, the places in Krt may still be of interest, as they show that the king had to go up to the tower of the temple in order to sacrifice to Il and Baal, Krt 73 ff, 165 ff. The excavators of R Sh have attested that such a tower was found in the naos of the Baal temple there, with a stair leading up to the top.¹⁾ It is not impossible that this tower where sacrifices to Il and Baal were made, was considered a symbol of the real Sapan. It was the cultic Sapan where Baal could be met, where he actually was supposed to live, at the same time as he was thought of as living in the "real" mount Sapan.²⁾

This does not contradict the opinion that Mons Casius should in some way be considered as Sapan. But it makes it clear that the thing has more than one side. The question of Sapan has its cultic side, as well as its mythologic and geographic. We shall have to take all sides into consideration.

6. Other Names and Titles.

As mentioned several times above, the designation b'l is found in connection with other words, and examples have been given.³⁾

und Fortschritte, 20, 1944, pp. 25-27; C. F. A. Schaeffer, Syria, 19, 1938, pp. 323 ff, and Cun. Texts, pp. 71, 94, pl. XXXVI. I do not completely accept all details in this somewhat rationalistic theory, even if I have to admit that the gods of Ugarit are closely connected with the life of nature. I think we have here more of accompanying circumstances than real causes. Some of the implications are indicated in my Joel Studies, 1948, excursus **הצפני**, pp. 93-108.

¹⁾ Schaeffer, Cun. Texts, pp. 66 f.

²⁾ As to the analogies in Sumerian and Akkadian religion, see O. E. Ravn, in Illustreret Religionshistorie, Copenhagen 1948, pp. 142 ff. Cf. also W. F. Albright in Festschrift Alfred Bertholet, 1950, p. 11.

³⁾ There are also some personal names found in the text, where one of the links is b'l , but they do not yield anything new to our knowledge of Baal.

There are still some of them left to be mentioned. In text 107 together with b'l špn we find another designation which is probably b'l ugṛt, a name connecting Baal expressly with Ugarit, 107:10 f. It is only found in this single case, in a list of gods. So is also another designation, b'l. knp, "Baal, the Wing", or "Baal (of) the Wing", in a list of sacrifices, text 9:6. What is the meaning of this name is not easily seen, if it does not contain an allusion to the Aqhat text, where Baal is told to be the one who breaks the wings of the eagles, I Aqht 108-150.

Of greater importance is probably another designation, also rarely found, namely b'l. 'nt. mḥṛṭt, 49:IV:27, in the form b'l. 'nt. mḥṛṭh in 49:IV:38. It is used by Il as one of three names for Baal just in the decisive moment when Anat has attacked Mot, and Baal is about to return to his throne after his visit to the realm of death. It is the rising Baal and the word mḥṛṭ makes it clear that it is the vegetation deity of the ploughed field, mḥṛṭ being a place (m-) where ploughing (root ḥṛṭ) is done or is to be done or has been done.

The meaning of the word 'nt is, however, more difficult to determine. At first glance one would be tempted to see at least an allusion to the name of the goddess who has just been asked by Il where Baal may now be. It cannot be doubted that we have here a play of words and that this fact has decided the choice of the word 'nt in connection with b'l and mḥṛṭt. The word 'nt may be thought to mean "spring, fountain",¹⁾ which gives a meaning of the context that is not impossible. The context has, however, also other difficulties: so the enigmatic pl, supposed by *Gordon* to be of Hurrian origin.²⁾ Translators have recently preferred another translation of 'nt: furrow.³⁾ This attempt must be considered as tentative, but it gives good meaning in the context. The designation b'l. 'nt. mḥṛṭt may then be rendered "Lord of the Plowed Furrows"⁴⁾ or more exactly "Lord of the Furrows of the Ploughland". *Ginsberg* has preferred to take b'l as subject for

¹⁾ Cf. *Albright*, JPOS, 12, 1932, pp. 190 f.

²⁾ UH, no. 1634, p. 262.

³⁾ *Gordon*, UL, p. 46, *Ginsberg*, ANET, p. 141.

⁴⁾ *Gordon*, op. cit. p. 46.

the verb *yštk* and then to understand *ʿnt. mḥrtt* as object of the sentence: "Baal neglects the furrow of his tillage".

In any case it seems to be clear that the expression found in 49:IV:27 and 38 connects Baal closely with the tilled soil, the plough-land. This connects him with the year cycle too, as the land had to be ploughed every year, and certainly with fertility, as any ploughing would be considered to be of no use if the fertility deities were not benevolent.

The designation *zbl. bʿl*, 68:8, 133:10, 137:38, 43,¹⁾ is apparently a short form for the more complete *zbl. bʿl. arš*, found in 49:I:14 f, III:3, 9, 21, IV:29, 40; 67:VI:10, *ʿnt*:1:3 f. The similarity of this name with that of the Philistean deity of Ekron, Baal-Zebub, II Kings 1:2 ff, and that of Satan in Mat. 10:26, was seen as soon as the tablets and their contents were known.²⁾ In its long as well as in its short form it is found solely in the AB cycle.

The R Sh texts have shown beyond doubt that the name Ba'alzebub of the Ekronite oracle god, used in I Kg 1:2 ff, is a Yahwistic distortion of the name Ba'alzebul, cf. also *βεε(λ)ζεβούλ* in the N.T., Mat. 10:25, 12:24.27, Mar. 3:22, Luc. 11:15.18 f.

The short form is used about the fighting Baal. The long form with its characteristic *arš* is, however, found in another connection. Apart from *ʿnt*:I:3 f where *zbl. bʿl arš* is found in a passage apparently telling about a sacrificial meal, the expression is only found in texts telling about the death of Baal or hinting about his coming back from the realm of death. This is especially characteristic in 67:VI:10, where we probably find the ancient cult cry, which was used at that dramatic point in the performance when Baal was found dead, and which was likely to be joined by the audience:

mt. aliyn bʿl Dead is Aliyan Baal
ḥlq. zbl. bʿl arš ³⁾ Perished is the Prince, Lord of Earth.⁴⁾

¹⁾ *Gordon*, UH, 137:38, p. 168 has *bzl. bʿl*, which I suppose is a printing error.

²⁾ *Virolleaud*, Syria, XII, 1931, pp. 199 f, *Albright*, JPOS, 12, 1932, pp. 191 ff, *Graham and May*, Culture and Conscience, 1936, p. 154.

³⁾ 67:VI:9 f.

⁴⁾ *Gordon's* transl., UL, p. 42.

The same lines are found in 49:I:13 ff, where they are shouted out by a lady who can only be Anat, Baal's consort. She lifts her voice and shouts: tšū. gh. wtšh, l. 11. The shouting is thus here evidenced from the text.

Other instances where zbl. b'l arš is used, are in mentioning the god in that crucial stage when he is just expected back from the depths of the earth. In all these cases, as in the two mentioned above, the designation zbl. b'l arš is used in parallelism with aliyn. b'l. Whereas aliyn. b'l could be used in all connections,¹⁾ it seems as if zbl. b'l arš was a designation especially pertaining to the more chthonic sides of Baal's character.

The meaning of the word zbl is not easily discernible. The parallel Aramaic and Arabic words give no help.²⁾ The Hebrew זבל, "living place" or as proposed "exalted place"³⁾ may be a clue in the right direction. In the latest translations we find "Prince" as the rendering of zbl.⁴⁾ This goes well into the context, it fits the parallelisms and we may well accept it so long as we do not know more about the word and its etymology.⁵⁾

Another designation with a Biblical parallel is rkb. 'rpt, "the Rider of the Clouds" or probably better "Driver of the Clouds", which is found astonishingly often, 14 times. The often cited O.T. parallel is found in Ps. 68:5, where Elohim is mentioned as רכב בערבות. It is a psalm with many ancient features, and there is no doubt that Yahweh is described in pictures taken from the world of the West Semitic storm god.⁶⁾

Being a decidedly poetical expression rkb. 'rpt is not found in lists of gods or sacrifices, but just in poetical texts. It is only used in parallelisms which in the first link give the name of the god and in the second rkb. 'rpt. b'l and aliyn. b'l are most frequently

¹⁾ See above, p. 48.

²⁾ Albright, JPOS, 12, 1932, p. 191.

³⁾ Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, 1942, p. 61.

⁴⁾ Gordon, UL, e.g. p. 42, Ginsberg, e.g. ANET, pp. 140 f.

⁵⁾ Virolleaud suggested a connection with the Akkadian zabālum, "to carry", (op. cit.) but we do not come much further with that. Mowinkel has suggested (orally) the possibility of a change in the meaning of zabālum from "carry" to "raise" and "exalt". It may be possible, but I am not quite convinced.

⁶⁾ Patton, Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms, Baltimore 1944, p. 20.

used in this connection, but also *zbl*. *b'l* is found, 68:8. There can thus be no doubt as to who the "Driver of the Clouds" is. The expression is not used alone, a fact which shows again that we have here a poetic designation.

rkb. *rpt* is certainly a designation coming from the world of the Storm god, Hadad. He was the god who rode or drove the clouds. In the R Sh texts *rkb*. *rpt* is used about the fighting Baal and also several times when the fertility side of the god is spoken of. We have here a hint that Baal had kept the characteristics of Hadad as a storm, rain, and thunder god.

Also another poetic designation is found several times: *aliy*. *qrđm*, 51:VIII:34; 67:II:10 f, 18, *'nt*:III:11, IV:51 f, VI:25. The expression is never used alone, but always in parallelism with *aliyn*. *b'l*.¹⁾ This is only natural, as the first link in both expressions are identical, though with a slight variation in the ending.²⁾ The translation can best be given as "the Powerful Hero".³⁾

As a poetical expression must also be considered *'ly*. *n'm*, "the exalted good one",⁴⁾ 126:III:6 f, 8 f. It is found in parallelism with Baal where this god is clearly acting as a rain and vegetation deity. *n'mn* was used as an epithet of heroes, so of Aqhat (II Aqht: VI:45) and of Krt (128:II:20, Krt:40, 61), but in our case *'ly* seems to give the expression its special character. From Canaanite sources Na'amah is known as a goddess, the deity of love.⁵⁾

Though Baal is several times pictured acting as a bull in the texts, he is very seldom directly mentioned as such. As a bull he loves a heifer before he goes into the earth, 67:V:17 ff, and a bull is born to him, 76:III:20 ff. In their fierce battle Baal and Mot gore like buffaloes, 49:VI:17 f. Here the word *rum* is used, in 76:III:21, 36 this word is used in parallelism with *ibr*. In one single text, which is unfortunately badly damaged, we find the bull, *ibr*, mentioned in a context where also Baal and Hadad

¹⁾ See above, p. 49.

²⁾ Cf. the unique form *aliy*. *b'l* in 67:V:17, which is, according to Gordon, "probably to be emended to *aliy(n)*. *b'l*", UH, no. 1059, p. 242.

³⁾ So Ginsberg, in ANET, e.g. pp. 136 f. Cf. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 1942, p. 195.

⁴⁾ Gordon's transl., UL, p. 80.

⁵⁾ Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 150, and JAOS, 60, 1940, p. 298.

are found, 133:4 (rev.), but what the connection really is, cannot be seen clearly. There is some reason for believing that *ibr* here denotes Baal.

There is certainly reason to deplore the fact that the text no. 133 is in such a bad state. We have here several interesting designations, but unhappily we do not know the context in which they were used. In lines 10-11 we find the following words:

zbl. b'l. ġlm. šġr hd wr []
 Prince Baal, the lad, the youth Hadad

zbl b'l as well as šġr hd have been treated above.¹⁾

In connection with šġr hd I underlined the fact that the texts here clearly speak about the young god. This point is underlined also in the parallel expression where ġlm, "boy, lad", indicates the youth of the fertility god. This youth is no accidental trait in the god's character; it is important as well for the right understanding of his fertility character as for a correct conception of his place in the Ugaritic pantheon.

This is clear already when we investigate some other attributes given to Baal in the texts by the two main goddesses, Asherah and Anat. The words of Asherah are given thus in 51:IV: 43 f

mlkn. aliy[n] b'l	Our king is Aliyan Baal
tp̄tn. win. d'lnh	Our judge, and there is none above him.

The same words are also spoken by Anat: mlkn. aliyn. b'l. tp̄tn. in. d'ln, 'nt:IV:40 f. In both cases the words of the goddesses are directed to Il, the head of the pantheon and from ancient times the king and the judge of the gods. Il is expressly mentioned as king in the following lines: il. mlk, 51:IV:48, 'nt: V:43 f. Both goddesses come, the one after the other, to pledge for a temple for Baal who had no house of worship.²⁾ That is a clear indication that they want to help Baal to greater power and to further his influence. There can thus be no doubt that there is a strong element of insubordination to Il and a conscious

¹⁾ See pp. 51, 60 f.

²⁾ The problems involved in the pledges of the two goddesses are clearly seen and treated by J. Obermann: UM, pp. 1, 12 f, 64, 73, 81.

provocation when they expressly call Baal their king and their judge. The final sentence win. d'lnh must be a hint intended especially to hit Il, who was supposed to be the supreme head of the gods.

In spite of his supposed position, however, Il seemed to have to accept the situation brought about by the "young" god.¹⁾ He had no objections to the titles used for Baal and he accepted the temple building.²⁾

IV. BAAL'S FAMILY

1. His Father.

As mentioned above³⁾ Baal is not considered as the son of Il, the head of the Ugaritic pantheon. He is expressly mentioned, again and again, as the son of Dagan, bn. dgn.⁴⁾ That does not mean, however, that he cannot at times have been looked upon also as the son of Il, though this is not said in plain words. Indirectly it is indicated several times. The relationship within the pantheon was usually given within the forms of a family and there were not many other possibilities left for Baal, but to be the "son" of the chief god.

We are told that Anat was Baal's sister (as well as his consort), 'nt:IV:83, aḥth;⁵⁾ and parallel with this expression we find ybnt. abh, IV:84, which must then be understood as "his father's daughter", meaning that Baal and Anat had the same father. The form of the pronoun, -h, may here, however, indicate fem., as well as masc., and there is thus a possibility that the reading: "her father's daughter" may be intended. This is not probable, as the expression would then be a mere truism.

Anat is several times characterized as the daughter of Il, 'nt:V:35, pl. VI:IV:8, V:43 c.a. If Baal then is the brother of Anat and they have the same father, Baal must consequently

¹⁾ See above, pp. 51 f.

²⁾ *Obermann*: op. cit., p. 81.

³⁾ Pp. 52 f.

⁴⁾ See above, pp. 52 ff.

⁵⁾ Cf. also 76:II:20, where Baal calls Anat "my sister", aḥt.

be the son of Il. This probably characterizes Baal's position in the pantheon, but it seems to be something comparatively new. It was not so firmly established that a designation b'l. bn. il was yet natural.

Tradition had another designation for the sonship of Baal: bn. dgn. It may seem queer that a god could be thought to have two fathers, but this only reflects a certain instability in the pantheon. Changes must have taken place; new gods with ancient genealogies came in and had to be placed in the surroundings found. It was inevitable that this led to some discrepancies. These discrepancies in their turn are firm indications that changes have really taken place, even if the traces in most cases have been erased.

The centre for the worship of Dagan seems to have been in the countries along the upper Euphrates, Mari, Jarmuti, Ibla and Hana, where this god was known and worshipped from the time of Sargon I.¹⁾ As mentioned above he was also known in Babylonia and Assyria in early time.²⁾ The etymology of the word dgn is not known. It seems not to be of Semitic origin, but may be of Sumerian.³⁾ Dagan is often found in Amorite surroundings (cf. also Hammurapi) and as the Amorites seem to have had their centre for centuries in the regions along the upper Euphrates, there may be reason to believe that Dagan was one of the chief deities of the Amorites.⁴⁾ From this Amorite centre, then, Dagan has probably spread to the neighbouring peoples, in the West and in the East, and thus also came to Ugarit.

The character of Dagan is somewhat better known than the etymology of the name. There can be no doubt that Dagan was a vegetation deity. This is clear also from the fact that Dagan was identified with Enlil and with Adad/Hadad.⁵⁾ This last identification is of a special interest as also Baal is identified with Hadad, as we see from R Sh texts. Baal is mentioned as a "young" god,

¹⁾ Cf. *Hartmut Schmökel*, art. Dagan in RLA, vol. II, pp. 99 ff, and *Der Gott Dagan, Ursprung, Verbreitung und Wesen seines Kultes*. Diss. Heidelberg 1928.

²⁾ See above, pp. 53 ff.

³⁾ *Schmökel*, RLA, II, p. 99.

⁴⁾ *Goetze*: Hethiter, Churriter, Assyrer, p. 30.

⁵⁾ *Schmökel*, RLA, II, p. 100.

and it seems to be clear that Baal and Dagan are aspects of the same god, a rain and fertility god of the type who is possibly best known under the name of Hadad.

The connection of Baal and Dagan is at any rate not arbitrary nor coincidental. The two chief temples in Ugarit, dedicated to Baal and Dagan, show that. Without doubt they have been connected during a long cultic tradition and influences from other sources have not been able to break up the connection.

2. His Wife.

As Baal's consort we find the goddess Anat, ʿnt, who is also called his sister, ʿnt:IV:83. This goddess is always found at Baal's side.¹⁾ She is found ready to help him in any situation and more than one time she has to do her utmost to bring him out of the trouble in which he is involved.

The goddess is usually designated as ʿnt. or btl ʿnt, about 80 times. Other designations are used, but not frequently. Thus ʿttrt is found in several connections, 10 times.²⁾ 8 times we find ybmt. limm or ymmt limm, "the sister-in-law of nations".³⁾ A few times we also find rḥm or rḥmy, 52:13, 16, 28; 128:II:6; and a single time rḥm. ʿnt, 49:II:27. Other designations used for the goddess are ʿnt ltn, 9:17, aḥth (of Baal), ʿnt:IV:83, št, "lady", I Aqht:215, 219, 221, III Aqht:6, 11, 27; št. ḡr, "lady of the mountain (?)",⁴⁾ ʿnt:II:5, also a few other designations where there may be some doubt either about the form, or if they are really used about Anat. She plays an important rôle in the R Sh texts, especially in the AB cycle, and sometimes one gets the impression that she is the chief person, not Baal. This is no doubt a trait going back to ancient times. Excavations bringing into the light numerous figurines of the fertility goddess, from most parts of the Near East, show clearly how extremely popular she was.⁵⁾

¹⁾ The only exception to this in the Aqht text I shall treat later, see pp. 73 ff.

²⁾ Gordon, UH, no. 1554, p. 259.

³⁾ Gordon's transl., UL, pp. 18 ff.

⁴⁾ Gordon, UH, no. 2010, p. 275.

⁵⁾ Graham and May, op. cit., pp. 40, 52, 64, 81 ff, 87 f, 95 f, 106, 117, 165,

The R Sh texts show that Anat is of a well-known type. She has the same features we find with the goddess Ištar (or in earlier times: Inanna). She is goddess of war and of love and fertility.¹⁾

In the text 'nt she is pictured in her violent fight against her and Baal's enemies, II: 1 ff. She smites them down and wades in blood, even washes her hands in it. She laughs and enjoys herself; this is what she loves, II: 25 ff. She boasts like a soldier and asks for the enemies of Baal: where are they? *She* has crushed them all: II's darling, the sea, the great River God, Tannin, the serpent, Mot, Fire, the daughter of žbb, 'nt: III: 32 ff. There is not much left for Baal if this is true. There is reason to believe that like other boasting soldiers Anat has also undertaken too much. But when performed in the cult and accompanied by Anat's forceful monologue this must have been a dramatic climax in the performance.

Just as dramatic must have been also her attack on Mot, whom she seized to force him to give her brother Baal back, and finally cleaved with a sword, winnowed him, burnt him, ground and planted him, 49: II: 10-35. This victory won in the cult and so closely connected with the happenings of daily life no doubt was very popular with the cult audience and contributed greatly to maintain the popularity of this goddess.

Her bloody and warlike side was, however, only one trait of her character. She was the goddess of passion, of whatever kind, with both its destructive and positive side. She was thus also the goddess of love and fertility. This part of her character is, however, not strongly represented in the R Sh texts. It is found, but it has not the importance it had in ancient times. The reason for this is not difficult to find. The leading rôle in the fertility cult had clearly passed over to Baal. Anat is only his helper and consort and thus responsible for fertility only in companionship with him. This may be the background for the fragment 132, where the love between Aliyan Baal and the Virgin Anat is described in a very direct way. Probably this text was once connected with the

226 ff, 244 ff, 272 ff. *J. B. Pritchard*, *Palestinian Figurines in Relation to Certain Goddesses known through Literature*, Philad. 1943, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁾ I need not go into details here. Cf. *Albright*, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 1942, pp. 74 ff, and *J. Obermann*: *UM*, pp. 11, 21 ff, 37 ff, 67 ff, 80 f.

hieros gamos under the great year-festival, where the king probably played the rôle of Baal.¹⁾

The love between Baal and Anat is described also in text 76. They are both found out in the aḥ. šmk, "the meadow of šmk", which is full of buffaloes, 76:II:9,12. Their meeting is described in a beautiful style, most likely revealing ancient literary culture. This polishing of the style need not necessarily have been accomplished through writing; such a conclusion would be premature.

After all, style means more in spoken than in written form, a fact which ought not to be forgotten. Through oral tradition, through use in the cultic life, the style of the R Sh texts could be as well-polished as through more specific literary work.

The meeting of Aliyan Baal and the Virgin Anat is described in the following way:

wysu.°nh. aliyn. b°l	"And Aliyan Baal lifts his eyes
wysu.°nh. wy°n	—he lifts his eyes and sees
wy°n. btl.°nt	—he sees the Virgin Anat
n°mt. bn. aḥt. b°l	the loveliest among Baal's sisters.
	76:II:13-16.

In exactly the same stylistic pattern (which is certainly used consciously) it is told how the Virgin Anat lifted her eyes and saw—a cow. Here follows an interesting moment: in the rest of the text Baal and Anat are seen as bull and cow (though in III:14 f a more human feature seems to be present, see however l. 16 and the following lines). The bull was the ancient symbol of fertility and also the rain and storm god Hadad was seen in the figure of the bull. So is clearly Baal in text 76, where we are also told that "the cow bears a bull to Baal", arḥ. ibr. tld [lb°l], 76:III:20 f. The same thing is found in 67:V:18 ff. It is here told of Baal's love of a young cow in dbr, the grazing fields of šḥlmm̄t, lines 18-21. She conceives and bears:

wṭldn mṭ	"and she bears a lad" (l. 22).
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While in text 76 a bull was born to Baal, here apparently "a lad" is born. The meaning of mṭ is, however, not easily explained. It

¹⁾ Engnell: *Studies in Divine Kingship*, pp. 77 f.

may probably be identified with *mṭ*, "man". It is only found in this place; while *mṭt* is used in 127:16; II Aqht:V:16, 22, 28; Krt:143, 289, apparently about a young lady. The possibility remains that *mṭ* simply designates "a young male" and *mṭt* "a young female". If the intention is first and foremost to design the sex of a young creature, this meaning of the word goes well into the context in text 67. There the thought is clearly that Baal hurries in procreation before his death so that a male can be found also after his departure.—In any case, even if *mṭ* means a young human being, we need not worry. The text 76 (as well as analogies from other Near Eastern religions) shows that there was an oscillation between the human and the bull figure of the rain, storm and vegetation deity. He was probably as often and as easily seen as a bull as in the figure of a human being.¹⁾

We are not told who the young cow in text 67 was. It is likely that also here she was identical with Anat.²⁾

Anat's love for Baal and her action in crucial situations connected with his life and death are described several times. It is especially underlined how she comes to his help when he is dead. She mourns bitterly, 62:1 ff, and wants to go down into the earth with him, like Ištar, 62:7 f. She lifts him on his shoulders and carries him to the heights of Sapan. Weeping she buries him there and sacrifices for him, 62:14–29.

She attacks Mot, the adversary of Baal, when her passion for the deceased god overwhelms her. Her love for him is given in simple words and in a style as elegant as it is simple:

klb. arḥ. l'glh.	As the heart of a cow for her calf,
klb. ṭat. limrh.	As the heart of a ewe for her lamb,
km. lb. 'nt. aṭr. b'l	So is the heart of Anat for Baal.

49:II:28–30.³⁾

There can thus be not doubt that Anat is Baal's consort and that she is closely connected with this god in the very stages of

¹⁾ One must therefore wonder why a distinguished scholar like *Gordon* finds it necessary to speak about "bestiality" in connection with 67:V:17–22, UL, p. 8. When Baal loves a heifer, he is naturally considered to be a bull himself.

²⁾ So also *Mowinkel*, NTT, 42, 1941, p. 150.

³⁾ So also 49:II:6–9.

his life cycle which are mostly determined by the fertility aspect. That means that Anat has kept her characteristics from ancient times, but that she is not enacting them independently any more. Most of the importance ascribed to her previously seems to have been transferred to the male fertility god, Baal.

In text 52, "The Birth of the Gods Dawn and Dusk", we find Anat in another situation than the usual ones. Her name ʿnt is not used there, but there seems to be little doubt that the goddess rḥm or rḥmy, mentioned several times: 52:13, 16, 28, is identical with Anat.¹⁾ This identification seems to be firmly established, especially as the composite expression rḥm. ʿnt occurs in another text, 49:II:27. Whether this means that Anat was sometimes simply called rḥm or rḥmy, or this designation denotes another goddess who was identified with Anat, we cannot see, but the designation rḥm ʿnt seems to point in the direction of the first solution.

rḥmy is mentioned separately in 52:16, so there can be no doubt that she plays a rôle in this text. In two other cases she is mentioned together with Asherah in the way that is so typical for the R Sh texts: aṭrt. wrḥm, 52:13, and aṭrt. wrḥmy, 52:28. There can be no doubt that two goddesses are mentioned; each of them bears a son.

The text 52 contains a curious mixture of mythology and clearly cultic parts. It is a text which in modern eyes may look somewhat frivolous, and it might seem more reasonable to see it as a late product of an author who wanted to tell a story for entertainment. It might also be supposed that the author was not too serious in his view of the gods. One might have a suspicion that he had lost some of the ancient respect for the high gods. Actually, if there had not been certain features in the text itself preventing this point of view, so well known from Greek mythology, it would have been considered an axiom also in this case.

I think, however, that text 52 shows us that the value of such an axiom is very dubious. This gay text is namely without doubt a cult text, with clear instructions for its cult use given in separate

¹⁾ The question of identity or similarity between the different goddesses mentioned in the R Sh texts is highly intricate and cannot be entered into here. Cf. *Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, pp. 74 ff.

sections within the text, see e.g. line 12. The beginning with its *iqra. ilm. n' [mm]* also clearly indicates that we have here a text taken from the cult life.¹⁾

There is nothing in the text, apart from its gay tone, that points in the direction that it is of late origin. On the contrary, there are features indicating that it is old. First and foremost it is conspicuous that the hero is not as usual Baal, but the chief god from ancient times, Il. He is not in the background in this text, but has the leading rôle. One might for a moment be tempted by the idea that Il is given this leading rôle by the author with the intention that he is going to be laughed at and thus naturally recede into the background for Baal. In that case this text would be from a late stage in Ugaritic religion and not from an old one. But actually there is no support for this point of view in the text itself. Only a modern reader with strong prejudices would be able to see the text that way.—To this is added its markedly cultic character, showing that we have here no purely literary creation but a text really used in cultic life. There can be little or no doubt that it was connected with the *hieros gamos*, probably during the New Year festival.²⁾ The text must then have originated in a period when Il played the principal rôle in the fertility cult, that is: in a time when he was not replaced by Baal.

The rôle of Raḥmaya is not quite clear. She is mentioned three times, but in none of the cases is it in a clear context. In two of the cases we only hear of "the field of the gods, the field of Asherah and Raḥm", *šd ilm. šd aṭrt. wrḥm(y)*, 52:13, 28, which was probably a liturgical refrain.³⁾ The only place, then, where Raḥmaya is mentioned alone, is in line 16, but also here the context is enigmatic. *Gaster* sees here a parade of the statues of the goddesses

¹⁾ Cf. *Th. Gaster*, JAOS, 66, 1946, pp. 57 f: "The introductory invocation, uttered by a presiding officiant or precentor . . . is a standard element of ancient and Classical worship. As Dussaud remarks, it is the basic form of prayer. . . . The invocation exhibits many of the characteristic forms of Semitic hymnody."

²⁾ *Th. Gaster*, *Studie c materiali*, 10, 1934, pp. 156 ff, *Religion*, 9, 1934, pp. 15 f, *OLZ*, 42, 1939, cols. 275 f, JAOS, 66, 1946, pp. 49-76. In the last one *Gaster* has given an exhaustive treatment of the text and its ritual background. Cf. also *Engnell*, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, pp. 129 ff.

³⁾ *Gaster*, JAOS, 66, 1946, pp. 63 f, 66.

Anat and Asherah.¹⁾ That is a good guess, but it does not help much to throw light on our problem.

We can put our problem in this connection thus:

- 1) Are the goddesses impregnated by Il identical with Anat and Asherah, whose names are not mentioned in that connection?
- 2) If so, is Anat then in this text considered as Il's wife?

To the first question most scholars have, apparently without hesitation, answered yes.²⁾ According to *Gaster* "the sequel proves" the identity.³⁾ I am willing to go so far as to say that the sequel indicates the identity, but I do not think we have any proof. It is, however, likely that the two wives of Il, who bear him the two sons šhr and šlm, are identical with the two fertility goddesses Anat and Asherah. It is not probable that they should have been mentioned several times in the text, if they were not to be identified with the two women, at̄tm, lines 39, 42, 43, 46, 48. Asherah is known from other texts to be the wife of Il, so there is nothing astonishing in the fact that she bears a son to Il.

The two women are also characterized as daughters of Il, bt Il (or they do so themselves), line 45, and they call him their father; ad, line 43. This is certainly correct if Anat is one of the women, as she was the daughter of Il.⁴⁾ Asherah, his wife, may also jokingly have called herself his daughter.

But the real crucial question is: how could Anat, Baal's consort, really be Il's wife? Here is the astonishing point which needs explanation.

I have already mentioned the fact that there may be reason for serious doubt that the two women in text 52 are really identical with Anat and Asherah. I cannot completely get rid of this doubt, but I admit that the indications point in the direction that the two goddesses are identical with the child-bearing women. In that case it is likely that Anat must sometimes have been considered as Il's wife. That must then probably have been in a time when Il really and not only nominally dominated the pantheon. Also Il's

¹⁾ Op. cit., pp. 52, 64 f.

²⁾ Cf. e.g. *Gaster*, JAOS, 66, 1946, pp. 50, 68 f. Thespis, 1950, p. 237. See however *Albright*, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 73.

³⁾ JAOS, 66, p. 50.

⁴⁾ See above, p. 64.

leading rôle in the text points in that direction. On the other hand there seem to be indications that Il is also here considered as an old god. There are hints that his sexual potency is no longer what it used to be, 52:40 ff.

Baal is not yet in the picture. This may, as a matter of fact, give the explanation why Anat could be spoken of as Il's wife. It is possible that we have here a very old text which has lived for a long time in Ugaritic tradition, going back to a time when Baal's place in the Ugaritic pantheon was not so dominating as it became later.

If the identification made in text 52 and the consequences drawn from it are right, Baal is a "young" god who came little by little or through a sudden event to dominating power in the pantheon, as also happened with Marduk in the Babylonian pantheon. Most of the R Sh texts reflect the stage when Baal was already in power or fighting to attain that power. In this stage Anat is no longer Il's wife, she is Baal's sister and consort. He has won her from the old god, and when she speaks to her father Il to demand a new temple for Baal, it is in sharp defiance. She is Il's daughter, but she stands completely on the side of Baal, threatening to use violence against her father if he does not comply with her wishes, 'nt:pl.VI:IV:6 ff. This is without doubt a different picture from that in text 52. Anat's situation has changed substantially from text 52 to the texts found in the AB cycle. This change was certainly caused by the increasing influence of the young fertility god, Baal. It may be the same influence which served to diminish her own importance and to place her somewhat in the shadow of Baal. That does not mean that she receded into the background, like Il. There is no doubt that she was still very popular, but in the cult and in the cult texts Baal was placed in the foreground.

The same brutal behaviour toward Il to acquire what she wants, which is found in 'nt:pl.VI:IV:6 ff, is used by Anat also to win the bow of Aqhat, III Aqht:rev.:1-14. The attitude of Anat toward Il is thus the same in the Aqht-text as it is in the AB cycle. She asks Il for favours, and he is willing to comply with her wishes, after having been threatened by her, II Aqht:VI:48ff, III Aqht:rev.:1 ff. The same words and sentences are used that are also found in 'nt:pl.VI:IV:6 ff, V:10 ff. There can thus be

little doubt that these texts originated within the same milieu and within the same time.

It is, however, an interesting feature that in the Aqht text we find Baal and Anat not fighting together as usual, but actually taking opposite sides. They do not clash as enemies, but Baal helps the one, whom Anat makes her helper kill. This is unusual and one may wonder what is really behind this story.

As far as I can see we have here actually the genesis of new gods. That they did not play any important part in Ugaritic religion and did not get a cult of their own, has several reasons which are not difficult to see. The new gods, who are in the Aqht text still mainly depicted as human beings, were clearly off-shoots of ancient gods, Aqhat himself surely of the fertility god. So long as Baal and Anat were firmly established, the new ones had little chance. They needed a long time to be recognized as real and important gods, and the destruction of Ugarit about 1200 B.C. put an end to all possibilities in that direction. If, however, Ugarit had been re-built after the catastrophe, the new gods might have had their chance after the failure of Baal and Anat to guard the city. This chance they never got. That is: the historical conditions necessary for their victory, never were there. We shall, I think, have to admit that we do not know what those conditions would have been, as we do not know what conditions in their time brought Baal to the fore.

In any event, the Aqht text seems to show that even if Baal was considered a young god, there may have been a wish to have a still younger god, and in the case of Anat a younger goddess. Aqhat, who really has traits from the fertility god,¹⁾ and Pagat, who like Ištar and Anat goes out to revenge and find her dead brother,²⁾ are then to be considered as off-shoots of Baal and Anat and really as germs of coming gods.

Still that does not explain why Anat is pictured as a warlike and avaricious adversary of the side to which Baal gives all help and support. It may be a feeling of the really dangerous character of the war and love goddess that has here prevailed. We shall have

¹⁾ I Aqht: I:18 f (?), 91.

²⁾ I Aqht: I:34 ff, 190 ff.

to remember that the terrible side of her character was not neglected in the R Sh texts, cf. especially 'nt:II:5 ff where her lust for blood and slaughter is vividly pictured. But apart from the Aqht text her love of battle and killing is for the benefit of Baal. In the Aqht text, however, her lust for Aqhat's bow leads her astray.

3. Asherah.

The relationship between Asherah, aṭrt, and Baal is not clear. Asherah is generally considered to be Il's consort.¹⁾ This seems to be right, as we have seen, in the text of "The Birth of the Gods", 52. But as we saw, Asherah and Anat could also be called Il's daughters in the same text, 52:45. This is not the only place where Asherah is considered to be the daughter of Il. In text 51 it is told how Asherah came to Il in order to ask him to have a temple built for Baal. Il is there mentioned as "tôr-il, her father", and "king Il who brought her into being", tr.il.abh. and [i]l mlk dyknnh, 51:IV:47 f. Asherah is here seen in the same position as Anat, 'nt:V:43 f, namely as the daughter of Il, whom she addresses as a grey-bearded old god, 51:V:66 f. This mentioning of Asherah as Il's daughter makes it clear that her position is ambiguous.

Actually she is rarely referred to as Il's wife. Only a few hints may point in that direction, cf. text 52, as mentioned above. Another clear indication is given in text 51, where we find 6 times the parallelism rbt. aṭrt ym, "Lady Asherah of the Sea", and qnyt ilm, "Creatress of the Gods", 51:I:22 f, 51:III:25 f, 29 f, 34 f, IV:31 f, frag.:1 f. It is evident that Asherah is identical with the "Creatress of the Gods", and it is as evident that this last title could only be bestowed on the most important goddess of the pantheon, probably the wife of the chief god, Il. This opinion is confirmed by another parallelism in the same text. Parallel with rbt. aṭrt. ym—qnyt ilm is mentioned tr.il. dpid—bny. bnwt, Tor, God of Mercy (?)—Creator of Creatures, 51:III:31 f. The parallelism here, consisting of related expressions, seems to indicate

¹⁾ Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 78.

that Il and Asherah are in the same position, both heading the pantheon. The conclusion must then be that Asherah is Il's wife.

There must also be some reason for the fact that Baal and Anat go to Asherah to ask for her help to have a temple erected for Baal, 51:II:21 ff. Though unwilling from the beginning, some silver and gold seem to make her willing to change her mind. She has her ass saddled and goes to Il, 51:IV:4 ff. She bows and honours him, 25 ff. But we can certainly see some contradictory traits here. Il is called *mlk. ab. šnm*, "king, father of years (?)". But at the same time that Asherah is carrying forth the request from Baal, she calls him rebelliously "our king": *mlkn. aliy[n] b'l. tptn. win. d'lnh*, 51:IV:43 f. This must mean that she does not only aid in Baal's cause, but that she has also accepted his claim to be the leading god. That, again, must mean that Asherah is on her way from Il's side to the side of the stronger, young god: Baal. That is probably what is behind this much disputed passage where Asherah takes up Baal's cause so fervently and also really has success.¹)—It is interesting to see that instantly after Asherah's rebellious words, Il is mentioned in the text as "Tor-Il, her father", *tr il. abh*, and "King Il, who brought her into being", *[i]l mlk. dyknnh*, 51:IV:47 f. The narrator has here clearly no interest in depicting Asherah as Il's wife. He mentions her as Il's daughter and is more interested, it seems, in her relationship to Baal. We therefore get the remarkable trait that Anat and Asherah are working side by side for Baal.

The curious story of text 49, where Asherah makes one of her sons king when Aliyan is dead, needs no more to be misunderstood. We have here a case of a "substitute king"²) an no real antagonism, 49:I:11 ff. That Baal in any case had to turn away the substitute is another thing, 49:V:1 ff.

I cannot go into a discussion of the several terms used for Asherah in the texts, nor can I say much about her character and background.³) I shall have to restrict myself to an investigation of her relationship with Baal.

¹) Obermann, UM, pp. 12 f, 64, 73, 81, 85.

²) Cf. e.g. Engnell: Studies in Divine Kingship, pp. 121 f, Obermann, UM, pp. 19 f. Another opinion Gaster: Thespis, pp. 126 f, 196 f.

³) For a summary, see Albright: Arch. and the Religion of Israel, pp. 74 ff.

The texts mentioned above have thrown some light on this relationship and some help may be found in the lists of sacrifices given to the Ugaritic gods. It is, however, utterly uncertain if they allow far-reaching conclusions.

In text 1:6 Il and Asherah are mentioned together, while Anat, 1:7, and Baal come later, 1:7,10. In the list of divine names, text 107, we find Il and Asherah mentioned together as a unity in the way that is so typical for the R Sh texts: *il waṭrt*, 107:5. They seem to be considered as a couple here, but the use of the word *il* is not completely clear in this text. It may mean "god", but let us accept the meaning "Il" as a personal name in line 5, which is most likely the correct interpretation.

In the list in text 3, Asherah is mentioned together with Anat, 3:15 f, and in 3:40 f together with Baal. The text is here fragmentary, so we cannot know where Il was mentioned. We had better draw no conclusions from this text, then.

The lists of sacrifices in text 9 on the other hand seem to press certain conclusions upon us. Here the first list names the gods in the following order: Il, Baal, Dagan, ? , Sapan, ? , 9:3 f. The head of the pantheon comes first, as could be expected, but Baal is mentioned just after him and before Dagan, his father. In the following list, 9:6, Il and Baal are again mentioned in the same order. But Asherah, *aṭrt*, now follows after Baal, and after her Sea, *ym*. Asherah is thus mentioned here in connection with Baal, not with Il. This is even clearer in line 8, where the two gods are mentioned together: *[a]lp. lb'l. waṭrt*, "an ox for Baal and Asherah". They are connected here in the same way as were Il and Asherah in text 107:5. This seems to indicate that Asherah was partly seen as Il's consort, partly as Baal's.

Under these circumstances it does not seem too bold to draw the conclusion that in ancient times, when Baal played no important part in the Ugarit pantheon, Asherah was considered the wife of Il and mother of the gods. As Baal's importance grew, so that he was actually honoured as the king of the gods, 51:IV:43, Asherah was successively connected with him. The first goddess of the pantheon must be the consort of the first god, and as Baal, apparently slowly, drove out Il from the leading place, he also took over his wife. This taking possession of Il's wife was never

complete, as we can see from the texts. After all the tradition knew that Asherah was originally Il's wife.

Another difficulty was due to the fact that Baal very early must have had his own consort, the goddess Anat. Her connection with Baal must have been considered so firm that it could not be broken up. The result is that in the texts there is some competition between the two goddesses, cf. 51:II:13 ff; 49:I:11 ff. The difficulties created by this competition can be seen in text 51, where both Anat and Asherah apply for a temple to be built for Baal. This problem has caused some trouble for the commentators, some of whom have tended to see different versions of the same event in the narratives of Anat and Asherah.¹⁾ It is likely that we have in text 51 a reflex of a struggle about who was going to be Baal's consort. None of the goddesses seems to have been victorious in that battle; tradition was again too strong. Instead of one victorious goddess we see two operating much along the same lines. It is probable that in due time the two goddesses would have been merged into each other, as their characters were so much the same. There may be some reason for seeing them both as aspects of one and the same goddess: the war-like goddess of love and fertility.²⁾

The curious double position of Asherah vis-a-vis Il and Baal is a strong indication that some development took place, probably through centuries and before the texts were written, which changed the interrelationship between the gods in the Ugaritic pantheon. We do not know what happened, but we can see the results: Baal came into the fore as the leading god. The position of Asherah gives a clue to a right understanding of Baal's position that we cannot disregard.

4. Other Relatives.

Incidentally we hear about Baal's brothers, 51:V:90, VI:44, 75:II:47 ff. The expression *ah* has certainly not to be taken too literally in these cases. It is used when Baal is told by Anat that a temple is going to be built for him as they were already built for his

¹⁾ Cf. *Obermann*, UM, pp. 12 f, 84 f.

²⁾ *Albright*, Arch. and the Religion of Israel, pp. 74 ff.

"brothers": ybn. bt. lk. km. aḥk, 51:V:89 f. aḥk is used in parallelism with aryk, which can probably be translated as "your kinsmen". We find the same parallelism also in 51:VI:44 f. It is here obvious that the "brothers" and "kinsmen" are the gods, ilm, 47 ff. Parallel with the expressions mentioned we find šb' m. bn. aṭrt, line 46, "the seventy sons of Asherah", another designation for the gods, who are all considered to be the sons of the great goddess, in ancient time the wife of Il.

In a passage in text no. 49, where a part is broken off, Baal's brothers are also mentioned. Unhappily the context gives no clue as to who is meant, and the unbroken parts are not clear. Here it is two times mentioned that: aḥym. ytn. b'l, 49:VI:10, in slightly varied form in 49:VI:14, aḥym. ytn. b'l. In parallelism with aḥym. b'l we find in both cases bnm. umy, 49:VI:11, 15.¹⁾

Also Baal's sisters are mentioned, aḥt. b'l, 76:II:16. The only one of these sisters who is mentioned by name is the Virgin Anat, btl. n't, who is the fairest, n'mt, among Baal's sisters, 76:II:15 f. Baal addresses her as his sister in 76:II:20, aḥt. The problems this relationship involves have been touched upon above,²⁾ Baal being considered as the son of Dagan, and Anat as the daughter of Il. This contradiction is another indication that Baal had not originally the position in the pantheon which he has now. On the other hand it also shows that we need not take the terms "brother" and "sister" too literally. Used in these texts they seem simply to mean "fellow-god" and "fellow-goddess". But as the gods were considered to be the children of Asherah, the mother goddess, the feeling that some real kinship existed seems never to have been completely lost.

No son of Baal is mentioned in the texts. This is quite natural, as Baal himself is the young god, in opposition to the old god, Il.³⁾ One might have expected, however, that the young Aqhat, who has some traits of the fertility god, might have been his son.⁴⁾

¹⁾ Gordon has preferred to split aḥym in two words: aḥ. ym, "brother of Sea", UL, p. 48, but it is doubtful if that is right.

²⁾ Pp. 64 f.

³⁾ See above, pp. 63 f.

⁴⁾ See above, pp. 74 f. Cf. Gaster, Thespis, p. 266.

As is known, this is not the case: Aqhat is the son of Danil.—This Danil was not one of the gods himself. The Aqht text tells how he went to the sanctuary to sacrifice there and pray for a son, II Aqht:I:2 ff. There is some doubt whether Baal served as an intercessor in this case, asking Il to bless Danil with a son, II Aqht:I:16 ff. In no case, however, Aqhat was Baal's son, so we need not discuss that problem here.¹⁾

Two times it is told that a son is born to Baal. In both cases the mother is a cow, and the son has therefore to be considered as a bull. In one of the cases he is also expressly mentioned as a bull:

arḥ. arḥ. []	The cow, the cow []
ibr. tld [lb'1]	A bull she bears [to Baal]
wrum. l[rkb 'rpt]	Yea a buffalo to the [Rider of Clouds]. ²⁾

76:III:20-22.

In the other case it is told about the cow that she bears "a lad", wtldn. mṭ., 67:V:22. The word mṭ here probably denotes a young male. The offspring of Baal is seen as a character of the same type as he is himself: at the same time god and bull.

Baal's "son" played no rôle in the cult, and he is not mentioned any more in the texts. It is, however, probable that he played an important rôle just as the son of Baal. He was the pledge that "life" was going to continue. It would not stop forever with the death of Baal. In any case the continuation of life was guaranteed: Baal was living in his son. It is actually a double guarantee here: Baal was going to return himself, but should he fail his son would take over.

Baal's daughters are mentioned several times, 51:I:17 ff,

¹⁾ It has, however, some bearing on the problem of who was Baal's father. If Baal is speaking in II Aqht: I:17 ff, it must be he who mentions Tor—Il as his father in I. 24: lṭr. il aby. That would be an interesting indication, showing that in some (probably late) stage Baal was actually seen as the son of Il. Cf. Gordon, UL, p. 86, and Gaster, Thespis, pp. 270 ff, neither of whom has called attention to this problem. Virolleaud translated b'1 as Baal, but understood the following as the lamentations of Danil, *Legende de Danel*, pp. 188, 191 f. Obermann has emphatically rejected the opinion that Baal is mentioned here, *How Daniel was Blessed with a Son*, p. 12. (JAOS, Suppl. NO. 6, 1946).

²⁾ Gordon's reconstruction and translation, UH, p. 152, UL, p. 51.

IV:55 ff; VI:10 f; 67:V:10 f, 'nt:I:23-25, III:3-5, pl. VI:IV:3 ff, V:49 ff; 130:11 f. Their names are given as pdry. bt ar, tly. bt rb, arsy. bt y' bdr. Only in one place are they expressly mentioned as the daughters of Baal, 'nt:I:22 ff: b'l. bnth. y'n. pdry. bt. ar "Baal catches sight of his daughters: Pdry bt ar." Because the tablets are broken, it is not always clear in what connection these daughters are mentioned. In the passage cited they are part of a peaceful picture given of the life of Baal and Anat, just before the description of the goddess's warlike conduct starts.

Baal's daughters seem to have been in a more lucky position than he was himself, as they had their house already when Baal had to put in a plea for his, 51:I:17 ff, IV:55 ff. How this could be so, is not easily explained. There seem to be two possibilities. The three "daughters" may have been known in Ugaritic mythology already before the time of Baal and were then later connected with Baal as his daughters. In that case it is likely that they had their own house before Baal got his. The other possibility is that the three "daughters" were just poetical-mythical figures whose possession of a house makes a background for the more important fact that Baal, one of the chief gods if not really the leading god, had no house of his own. The last theory is probably more reasonable. The daughters seem to be firmly connected with Baal. When Mot wants to send him down into the earth, he advises him to bring with him his clouds, his wind, his rains, seven lads, šb't. ġl mk, eight swine, t mn. ħnzrk, and pdry. bt. ar and t tly. bt. rb, 67:V:6-11. In some way all the things mentioned must be characteristic for Baal and connected with him, so also the two daughters mentioned. Why the third one is omitted here we cannot guess. On the whole the rôle of the daughters of Baal is an enigmatic one, and their importance for the economy of the story is not easily discernible.

One of the daughters of Baal, pdry. bt. ar, on one occasion plays a rôle of her own, but also then she is mentioned as the daughter of Baal, so that connection seems to have been firmly established. Ĥrĥb, king of summer, ĥrĥb mlk qz, suggests that Yrĥ, the moon, ought to wed Pdry, the daughter of Baal, instead of Nikkal, whom he has chosen as his bride, 77:24 ff. Nothing more

is told about it, so the whole story does not throw new light on the problem of Baal's daughters.

Of greater importance is the fact that Pdry is mentioned in a list of sacrifices for various gods, text no. 1, line 15. Here a large animal is mentioned as sacrifice for Pdry, possibly also a small animal in addition: pdry. gdlt dqt. According to this there can be no doubt that Pdry was a goddess and that she really had a cult. If this does imply that she had a "house" of her own, is, however, another question which cannot be solved on the meagre evidence we possess. But we may be allowed to conclude that Pdry was not only a mythical-poetical figure: she was worshipped as one of the goddesses of the Ugaritic pantheon.

V. ACCOMPANYING MINOR GODS

A few minor gods are mentioned as helpers or messengers of Baal. It is an interesting feature that they have double names, and it has to be decided in each case whether we have a single god with a double name, or a pair of gods.¹⁾

The messengers of Baal are gpn. wugr, Gupan (?) and Ugar, 51:VII:54, VIII:47, frag.:6-7; 67:I:12; 'nt:III:33. There seems to be no doubt any more that this double name denotes a pair of gods, who act as Baal's messengers.²⁾ They bring messages from Mot to Baal, 67:I:9 ff, and from Baal to Mot, 67:II:8 ff. When Anat sees them, she wants to know what is their message, if they are bringing threats from other gods to Baal, 'nt:III:33 ff.

Of more importance is the masterbuilder of the gods, ktr-w-ḥss, who is mentioned more than 40 times. In most cases the name seems to indicate one god only (he speaks of himself in the singular e.g. 51:VII:21 ff),³⁾ but 51:VI:104 f, II Aqht:V:20, 29 f actually speak about ktr-w-ḥss in dual, indicating that also this name denotes a pair of gods.⁴⁾ The cases where the singular is

¹⁾ Cf. Gordon, UL, p. 107.

²⁾ H. L. Ginsberg: Baal's Two Messengers, in BASOR, 95, 1944, pp. 25-30.

³⁾ Ginsberg, BASOR, 95, 1944, pp. 25 f, Gordon, UL, p. 107.

⁴⁾ Gordon, op. cit. p. 107.

used are without doubt more important and must be considered decisive.

It is characteristic for this deity that each part of the name could be used separately, denoting the same god, who must have been very popular. In II Aqht:V we find all forms of his name: *kṭr-w-ḥss* in lines 17 f, 23, 25 f. *kṭr* alone in lines 10, 13, *ḥss* in line 11, and the synonymous *hyn* in lines 18, 24, 32.¹⁾

According to *Obermann* *kṭr-w-ḥss* plays a certain rôle in the rivalry between Il and Baal,²⁾ and there is surely reason for investigating his position in some detail.

The master-builder (who is by *Obermann* called by his other name: Hayin, for the sake of convenience) comes into the narrative in connection with the pleas of the goddesses for a new house for Baal. As mentioned above³⁾ these pleas reveal the rivalry between Anat and Asherah. The leading goddess from ancient times, Asherah, is still strong enough to obtain from Il what Anat cannot achieve.

kṭr-w-ḥss is mentioned several times, and it is not always clear what rôle he plays. This is actually no wonder as many scenes are really enigmatic in the texts which treat of the house-building of Baal. Gods and goddesses change their rôles again and again, and the same speeches are delivered by changing persons. The message of Baal, intended for Anat, is mentioned in *nt:III:10 ff*, *IV:51 ff* (and repeated by Anat in *IV:67 ff*). But in the same text, *pl. IX:II:17 ff*, and again in *pl. IX:III:5 ff*, it is suddenly *Tor-il* who gives the message. The message itself is not changed and it would be completely unfounded to suppose that we have two different sources, one with Baal as a hero, another with Il.⁴⁾ The text has probably not been materially changed, but there is a possibility that the names of the gods may have been changed. However, this theory is not necessary to explain the seemingly unexpected turns of the text. Most likely it reflects the battle between the gods, as expressed in the cult where

¹⁾ Concerning *hyn* cf. *Ginsberg*, BASOR, 95, 1944, 25, n. 4, *Obermann*, UM, pp. 12 ff.

²⁾ Op. cit., pp. 14, 17 f.

³⁾ P. 76.

⁴⁾ Cf. *Obermann*, UM, pp. 86 f.

they may have spoken their passages through a cult servant disguised as and playing the rôles of the different gods.

After the plea of Anat a messenger is sent to Ktr, bringing a message to him from Baal and asking him to come to Baal as soon as possible, 'nt:VI:18 ff, pl. IX:II:1 ff. Nothing seems to come out of the invitation on this occasion.

Then Tor-il sends exactly the same message to Ktr, 'nt:pl. IX:III:2 ff. Ktr answers and then enters the mountain where Il lives. After he has honoured Il, wine and sacrifices are brought, while Il tells about his son yw. il, pl. IX:III:17 ff, pl. X:IV:2 ff. Unhappily, the following parts are so broken that it is impossible to see what really happened.

Baal and Anat are advised to seek the help of Asherah, the mother of the gods, 51:I:22 f. Hyn (=Ktr) is here suddenly mentioned as the smith of the gods. He works with the bellows and the tongs, and he smelts gold and silver, 51:I:24 ff. A series of things belonging to Il are mentioned, and the meaning seems to be that Hyn has made these things or that he has made new ornaments and decorations on them, 51:I:31 ff. He must then be working for Il. Cf. also 129:7.¹⁾

After Asherah's plea to Il he allows a house to be built for Baal, 51:V:62 ff. Asherah informs Baal that he may build a house of gold, silver and lapis lazuli, 51:V:80 f. Ktr-and-Hss is sent for at once, arrives and gets a good meal at Baal's side, 51:V:103 ff. The friendship between Baal and the master-builder is here depicted in the same way as is the friendship between Il and him in 'nt:pl.X:IV:1 ff.

This is actually a trait in good accordance with life in the Near East at this time. A master-builder and master-smith was no man's slave. He could choose his friends himself, and he preferred those who could give him the best conditions and the greatest possibilities. Kings and princes wanted his services and had to pay high prices for them. As an example of what they could build, may be mentioned the palace of Zimri-lim, famous all over the Near East for its size and its decorations.²⁾—It is also well known how king

¹⁾ Obermann, UM, pp. 15 ff.

²⁾ W. von Soden: Das altbabylonische Briefarchiv von Mari, in WO, H. 3, 1948, p. 203.

Solomon hired the smith Hiram from Tyre, for work in his temple, I Kings 7:13 ff.

There is therefore no reason to wonder how K_{tr}-and-H_{ss} can change his loyalty so easily; that was simply the custom of this time.¹⁾ A huge house is erected for Baal, 51:V:113 ff. A discussion about a window in the house ends in K_{tr}-and-H_{ss}'s favour, 51:V:120 ff, 51:VII:14 ff.

The building of the house is not the only service K_{tr}-and-H_{ss} renders Baal. In the decisive battle with Prince Sea, zbl ym, the master-smith furnishes Baal with the weapons which crush the enemy's head. He does not only make them and bring them, he also "mentions their names", wyp' r. šmthm., 68:11,18. This feature shows that he possessed magical powers, a thought which is not astonishing in connection with a smith, and especially with the smith of the gods.²⁾

K_{tr}-and-H_{ss} was also a maker of bows. It is not told that he made them for Baal, but we are told that he made a specially fine one for Aqhat,³⁾ the young prince who has acquired so many traits from Baal, II Aqht:V:2 ff.

Quite a lot of conclusions have been drawn from K_{tr}-and-H_{ss}'s position and tasks in the Ugaritic pantheon: he is supposed to represent the advance of technology, new processes of metallurgical smelting and moulding.⁴⁾ This may be right, though undeniably the texts do not give this impression at first glance. There is no doubt that K_{tr}-and-H_{ss} was a popular god.⁵⁾ He is mentioned several times in the texts and always as a helper (first and foremost of Baal). But the picture the texts give, is not that of the inventor of tools and weapons. Even in connection with the bow of Aqhat he is not mentioned as an inventor, only as a skilled workman who has made this specially fine bow, II Aqht:V:2 ff.

The background of K_{tr}-and-H_{ss} is not the inventor, it is the master-builder and the master-smith as he was found in the Near

¹⁾ Cf. Obermann, UM, p. 53.

²⁾ Obermann, JAOS, 67, 1947, pp. 206 ff. Concerning the whole episode, see op. cit. pp. 195-208; UM, pp. 15 f.

³⁾ Albright and Mendenhall, JNES, 1, 1942, pp. 227-29.

⁴⁾ So Obermann, UM, pp. 84 ff.

⁵⁾ Albright, Arch. and the Religion of Israel, pp. 81 f.

Eastern courts at this time, a highly skilled specialist who went with his tools and his helpers from one court to another or was forced by the conqueror to work for him. K_{tr}-and-H_{ss} was pictured in this rôle. That gives us the key to his character and the right clue to how he could shift his master apparently without the least trouble. On the other hand this shifting also shows how the dominating influence in the Ugaritic pantheon passed from Il to Baal. I shall say something more about the details in this change of leadership in the following chapter.

VI. BAAL'S PLACE IN THE PANTHEON

The question of Baal's place in the Ugaritic pantheon has been touched upon several times above. It was clear from Baal's relationship with Dagan, Anat, Asherah and K_{tr}-w-H_{ss} that there must have been a struggle between Baal and Il about who was to be the leading god in the pantheon. It is not a struggle which was fought out in a single battle; on the contrary it seems to have been a long out-drawn struggle, as much fought behind the scene as on it. None of the gods has achieved a complete victory: while Il seems still to be the nominal head of the pantheon, whose permission is necessary even for Baal when he wants to build a house, Baal is the actual head of the gods, called their king and judge, 51:IV:43 f, 'nt:V:40 f. There can, however, be little doubt that Il has receded very much into the background, though he has in no way disappeared.¹⁾

Il's and Baal's relationship with Asherah was discussed above. We found that in ancient time Asherah was the wife of Il and the chief goddess. At the time of the R Sh texts she is still considered to have the same position, but she is also associated with Baal in an astonishing measure, in a hard competition with Baal's consort Anat. In some decisive questions she takes Baal's side. She stands forth and declares before Il that "Baal is our king, our judge, and

¹⁾ *Eissfeldt* does not share this opinion, *El im ugaritischen Pantheon*, pp. 60 ff. See however *Dussaud*, *Syria* 27, 1950 pp. 332 f, where he mentions that Il had to leave the leading rôle to Baal. So also *Albright*, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 1942, p. 72 f.

there is none above him", 51:IV:43 f. This is nothing less than open revolution, and the declaration is also part of a really revolutionary action: Asherah is making a serious attempt to have a temple built for Baal. Great stress is laid upon this house-building for Baal; it is one of the leading motifs in the R Sh texts.¹⁾ The new house for Baal means that his position in the pantheon is definitely established. As Baal clearly aspires to the leadership, help to his house-building is evidently also help to make him the leading god.

Why is Asherah supposed to give Baal this help? One thing is clear: she does not give it to a brand-new god without influence. When priests and narrators found it necessary to combine Asherah with Baal in the way mentioned, it is because Baal had already acquired such a position that he could no longer be neglected. The victory was already his and an accommodation from the side of the old gods was necessary. Even the wife of the leading god till then must bow for the new dominating god. That is what is behind the story of the relationship between Baal, Asherah and Il.

The same story, with the same implications, influences also the relationship between Baal, K_{tr}-w-H_{ss} and Il, as mentioned above, in the preceding chapter. Baal was already the leading god when the texts were formed. He was most powerful and accordingly also the god who could give the highest reward, so it is only what must be expected that K_{tr}-w-H_{ss} preferred to be in his service. That is only another expression of the fact that Baal was now the dominating god. The influence of Il was so weakened that he was not able to keep a workman like K_{tr}-w-H_{ss} in his service when Baal wanted him.

I have also mentioned the archaeological evidence for Baal's strong position in the Ugaritic pantheon.²⁾ The main temple in Ugarit was dedicated to Baal, and there can be no doubt that an intensive cult of this god took place there. Up till now no corresponding temple for Il has been found.

I have also pointed to the fact that Baal is not considered to be the son of Il, but of Dagan.³⁾ That seems to indicate that Baal

¹⁾ Obermann: UM, p. 1.

²⁾ See above, pp. 17 ff.

³⁾ See above, pp. 52 ff. 64 ff.

was not originally a member of the Ugaritic pantheon. If so, he would most probably have been mentioned as Il's son. Here the ancient tradition must have been very strong. Baal was from old days connected with Dagan. This connection must be considered as a clue in the question of Baal's origin. Baal was again and again called Hadad,¹⁾ and as Hadad was identified with Dagan, the sonship of Baal is probably just another form of identification. The tradition which connects Baal, Hadad and Dagan is clearly a strong one.

As Dagan was one of the chief deities of the Amorites there is probably influence from Amorite religion. But Ugarit was a place where cultural influence from many sides used to meet, and we should certainly be wrong if we see religious thoughts and cult coming in only from one side.

Scholars have pointed to the fact that Baal/Hadad seemed to have been worshipped in northern Syria by the Hurrians under the name of Tešsub.²⁾ It is well known that the Hurrians played an important rôle in these countries about the middle of the second mill. B.C.³⁾ It is probable that also their thoughts and ideas left their traces in the texts handed down to posterity. The name of the king mentioned in several of the colophons of the texts, nqmd, is supposed to be of Hurrian or Mitanni origin.⁴⁾ It was this king who had his scribes copy the tablets found in R Sh. Thus, it is not impossible that the Hurrians brought some of the ideas and beliefs found in the texts; and in some cases it is possible that even Assyrian-Babylonian material passed via them to the people of Ugarit.

I have already mentioned above that there may be some parallels between the figure of Baal and that of the Hurrian god Telepinuš.⁵⁾ There are also other texts showing a remarkable parallelism.

¹⁾ See above, pp. 50 ff.

²⁾ *Schaeffer*, *Cun. Texts*, p. 8.

³⁾ *Schaeffer*, *op. cit.* pp. 13-17.

⁴⁾ *Schaeffer*, *op. cit.* pp. 33, 16. Nqmd's name is found in texts no. 2:20; 51:VIII:edge; 62:56; 118:14, 17, 24.

⁵⁾ See above, pp. 38 f.

We find these parallels in the Kumarbi texts.¹⁾ Here is the story of a struggle for power between the different generations of gods which may yield some contribution to a solution of the problems connected with the struggle between Il and Baal.

Alalu was driven away by Anu, who then occupied the throne of heaven himself. But the "mighty Kumarbi", whose task it was "to put the cups for drinking into his hand", made a revolt apparently strengthening his cause by doing it in the name of Alalu, and Anu had to flee. Kumarbi caught him by the feet and pulled him down from heaven; then he castrated him. Anu foretold that three children would be born to Kumarbi, one of whom was the Weather-God, usually called Teššub.²⁾

As is so often the case in Near Eastern religion the young god turned out to be stronger, and also Kumarbi met the same fate he had prepared for Anu, who had again in his turn driven Alalu away.

The text telling about what happened when Kumarbi was driven away has unhappily not come down to posterity, so we do not know how the change took place. We do only get to know incidentally in the Song of Ullikummi that the Weather-God was already king and in charge of the pantheon.³⁾ This cannot have happened without battle, as the "mighty Kumarbi" certainly was not willing to resign voluntarily.⁴⁾ As a matter of fact we are told that Kumarbi refused to accept the new change of power and took some strong counter-measures. The most important one was his creation of the sea monster Ullikummi. (The implications of this I shall touch upon later.) Ullikummi was a real threat against

¹⁾ *E. O. Forrer*: Eine Geschichte des Götterkönigtums aus dem Hatti Reiche. In: *Mélanges Franz Cumont* = *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves*, IV, 1936, pp. 687-713.—*E. A. Speiser*: An Intrusive Hurro-Hittite Myth, *JAOS*, LXII, 1942, pp. 98-102.—*H. G. Güterbock*: Kumarbi. Istanbul 1946. (Istanbuler Schriften. Nr. 16.)—*H. G. Güterbock*: The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi Myths, *AJA*, 52, 1948, pp. 123-134. Text: *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, XXXIII, Nos. 92-122.

²⁾ *Güterbock*, *AJA*, 52, 1948, p. 124.

³⁾ *Güterbock*, *AJA*, 52, 1948, p. 125.

⁴⁾ Whether there are historical events behind these changes in the world of the gods, is more than doubtful. Mythology and cult are more complicated than that.

the gods, but the Weather-God had the gods assembled and they thought out a device to have the sea-monster destroyed. Ea, the Babylonian god of wisdom and witchcraft, was the one who apparently had the right idea about how to do it.¹⁾

Kumarbi's rebellion was thus in vain. Nevertheless, he is still called "the father of all gods".²⁾ This seems to indicate that either the recollection of Kumarbi's leading position in the pantheon is still alive or he is still nominally, if not actually, considered to be the head of the gods. There is no doubt, however, that the Weather-God is the leading god. The rebellion of Kumarbi is directed against him, and he leads the gods in their attempt to frustrate Kumarbi's efforts, achieving a complete victory.

Also in other Near Eastern religions we find a change of the leading god in the pantheon. In the Sumerian period of the 3rd millennium Marduk, the god of Babylon, came to the fore and was considered the chief of the pantheon.³⁾ The real reason for this change we do not know. The cult myth had its own story, told in the *Enuma eliš*. Here we hear how Marduk got to power and created the world. The necessary qualification was that he freed the gods out of the danger in which they all were, threatened by the sea monster Tiamat.⁴⁾ Marduk was victorious and thus became head of the Mesopotamian pantheon.

Marduk won his place among the gods because of his victory over the sea monster. In Hurrian and Ugaritic religion we are not told, probably by accident, how Teššub and Baal came to power. That does not mean, however, that the motif of the fight with an enemy connected with the sea is missing. On the contrary it plays an important rôle. As far as I can see there is little doubt that this motif is connected with that of shifting generations among the gods. The young god who claims the leadership has to face the dangerous sea monster and defeat it. First then his supremacy is accepted by the older gods and especially by the one who is dethroned.

¹⁾ AJA, 52, 1948, pp. 126 ff.

²⁾ Tabl. 1:a:4.

³⁾ Cf. *O. E. Ravn*: The Rise of Marduk, in *Acta Or* 7, 1928, pp. 81-90; *L. W. King*: A History of Babylon, Lond. 1915, p. 194.

⁴⁾ *Enuma eliš*, II:123 ff, III:55-138, IV:1-32.

This pattern is completely clear among the Hurrians as well as among the Ugarites. In both these cases it seems to be the old, previously mighty and leading god, now receding, who engages the sea monster or Prince Sea to overthrow the reign of the new ruler: the young god. It is part of the pattern that they are not successful in these attempts.

Baal's struggle with the Prince Sea is part of this pattern. Scholars have long ago seen that the destruction of Prince Sea was a pre-requisite, by which Baal would obtain "kingdom eternal".¹⁾ That the pattern is somewhat more comprehensive and complicated I have already shown above, especially through the example from Hurrian religion.

The R Sh texts nos. 129 and 137 show clearly that we have the same pattern in Ugaritic religion. There may probably be influence from Hurrian religion, but we cannot be completely sure, as the pattern seems to have been widespread. Unhappily, the texts nos. 129 and 137 are badly mutilated, but at least so much of no. 137 is kept that we get a fairly good impression of the situation.

In no. 129 lines 8b-9 run as following: bn. bht zbl ym. []m. hk[ltp]t nhr. This can be translated in two ways: "Build the house of Prince Sea, [ere]ct the pala[ce of Judge] River" or "They are building . . . [they are ere]cting . . ."²⁾ There are so far no means to decide which translation is correct, as we do not know the context. In any case it is clear that a house is built or is going to be built for Prince Sea, zbl ym. That means that Prince Sea had just won an important position in the pantheon or that he was on the point of winning it.

This seems to be clearly indicated in lines 21 bf, even if several words are missing: tr. il abh tpt[]l. h/y. [tp]t nhr mlkt []m. lmlkt., "Tor-Il, his father, Judge [], Judge River, you are king[[] may you be king!" This is a solemn declaration where Judge River = Prince Sea is announced as the new king.

Prince Sea has assumed the consequences of this declaration and calls himself lord of the gods and their master in no. 137: 17.

¹⁾ Obermann, UM, p. 3; JAOS 67, 1947, p. 195.

²⁾ Gordon, UL, p. 11, Gaster, Thespis, p. 133.

In addressing the gods he uses the following designations about himself: *ym. b' lkm. adnkm. t[pt. nhr]*, "Sea, your lord, your master Judge River."¹) Prince Sea is fully aware who is his most dangerous competitor to the throne: Baal. In the way of newly promoted dictators he sends his messengers to the assembly of the gods. They try to scare the gods, who reverently bow their heads. The new king of the gods demands that the scared gods shall deliver Baal into his hands, so that Prince Sea can take over what Baal possesses, text no. 137, lines 18 ff, 30 ff.

It seems to play a pitiable rôle when the messengers of Prince Sea bring the message of their lord. He is at once ready to declare that Baal is certainly the slave of Prince Sea: *' bdk. b' l. y ymm*, "Baal is your slave, O Sea!" (137:36). He promises that Baal will pay tribute to him and thus accept him as his superior, line 37. That Baal was by no means willing to do this, can be seen from text no. 68, which gives the details of the battle between Baal and Prince Sea. In this fight Baal was victorious.

How, then, can Il be pictured in such a pitiful rôle as is ascribed to him in text no. 137? It is clear that he has lost his authority. He has no more the power to dominate the pantheon himself. He can only play one powerful god against another, hoping thereby to regain some of his former influence. It is in vain. He only has to comply with the wishes of the younger gods, first with those of Prince Sea, as mentioned above, and later with those of Baal.²) Il has lost his moral authority; that is clearly seen from text 137. He had lost the grasp of his worshippers; and it is evident that even if they tried to retain his outward authority, their confidence in him was broken. His position in the Ugaritic pantheon is therefore taken by the young, strong and very active Baal, who ascended to the throne after a complete victory over his enemies.

How Baal could attain this importance, is unknown. We do not have the necessary documents to follow his story through the centuries. Probably his position in the Ugaritic pantheon is a reflection of the great importance ascribed to the Weather-God (Teššub, Adad, Hadad) in the Near East in this period. There can be no

¹) So also 137:33 f.

²) 51:IV:58 ff.

doubt that when the R Sh texts were taken down in writing, Baal's position as the leading god of the pantheon was already firmly rooted. The position of Il, on the contrary, was undermined. The cult dedicated to him had nearly disappeared, while there was an abundant cult of Baal. The position of the gods, as shown in the texts, reflects their importance in the cult-religious life.

VII. BAAL'S CHARACTER AND TASK

1. Rain, Storm and Fertility God.

The statuettes and stelae (found at Ras Shamra) showing the god Baal, give us some clues to his character. On a stele he holds a club over his head, brandishing it with his right hand.¹⁾ In his left hand he has a stylized thunderbolt, ending in a spear-head. These are certainly the attributes of a rain, storm and thunder god. On his head the god wears a helmet with horns. The last attribute indicates that he has to be identified with the bull-god, in spite of the fact that he is pictured in human shape. The horns are found also on a statuette of gold-plated bronze.²⁾ The bull-god was the symbol of fertility, and there is thus no doubt that the god with the horns, who is certainly Baal, was a fertility god.

The archaeological evidence is in good accord with what the texts tell. In text no. 51:V:68 ff. Lady Asherah of the Sea, rbt aṭrt ym, says:

wnap. ʿdn. mṭrh	See then, the season of his rain
bʿl. yʿdn. ʿdn. ṭkt. bglṭ	Baal appoints, the season of . . .
wtn. qlh. bʿrpt	in wells, ³⁾
šrh. larṣ. brqm	he gives forth his voice in the
	clouds
	he flashes lightning to the earth.

¹⁾ *Schaeffer*, *Cun. Texts*, pl. XXXII, fig. 2.

²⁾ *Op. cit.* pl. XXXIII.

³⁾ The meaning of the words ṭkt. bglṭ is unclear. gṭ may be related to late Hebrew גליש = streaming, flowing (used about water).

Baal's leading rôle in the fertility cult is here clearly indicated. He is the one who sets the seasons, *y'dn. 'dn*. He appoints the season of his rain, because he is the rain-god who can fix the time when the blessing rain will have to fall. As usual the rain is connected with thunder and lightning, phenomena usually accompanying the heavy rain in these regions. When Baal is commanded to go down into the earth, he is asked to take with him his clouds, his wind, his storm (?), his rains: *wat. qh. 'rptk. rhk. mdlk. mtrtk*, 67:V:6-8.

In the region of Ugarit rain was the primary source of fertility, not a great river as in Mesopotamia or Egypt. The rain and storm god was therefore the giver of fertility and thus a very important god. That may also be the reason why Baal was promoted to the leading position in the Ugaritic pantheon.

Rain, storm and clouds were no accidental or occasional attributes of Baal. They were parts of his whole character and to such an extent that he had to take them with him even when he was obliged to descend into the earth. The close connection of the rain with Baal could give it its poetical name: the rain of the Rider of Clouds, *rbb. rkb 'rpt*, mentioned parallel with the dew of heaven and the fat of earth, [*t*]l. *šmm. šmn. arš, 'nt*:II:39 f. The same connection between the rain and Baal is found also in text no. 126, one of the Krt-texts:

<i>larš m[<i>t</i>]r. b'l</i>	For the earth the rain of Baal
<i>wlšd. mtr. 'ly</i>	and for the field the rain of the Exalted
<i>n'm. larš mtr b'[1]</i>	Lovely One
<i>wlšd. mtr. 'ly</i>	for the earth the rain of Baal
<i>n'm</i> ¹⁾	and for the field the rain of the
	Exalted Lovely One.

While the trees were thriving under the rain, 126:III:3, they were scorched when Baal had to disappear into the earth, 67:II:3 ff. So were also the olive and other products of the earth, 67:II:5 f. The god was gone, so was the rain, then also fertility. As soon as the god is back, the whole picture changes. Then "the heavens rain oil and the valleys run with honey", 49:III:6 f. The necessary rain was back and the consequences showed up at once.

¹⁾ 126:III:5-9.

In connection with the rain of Baal it is of interest to discuss the enigmatic part of text 51 (II AB) concerning the windows in Baal's house, 51:V:125 ff, V:1 ff, VII:15 ff. Baal's master-builder, Kṭr-w-Hss, suggested that the new house of the god should be provided with a window. Baal refused, but later ordered Kṭr-w-Hss to make the window.

Several opinions are found as to what the meaning of this window is and what is the intention of making it. *Cassuto*,¹⁾ *Albright*²⁾ and *Ginsberg*³⁾ hold that Baal's intention is to keep his adversary, Mot, away, cf. Jer. 9:20. Another interpretation is given by *Obermann* and *Th. Gaster*.⁴⁾ They are of the opinion that Baal wanted no windows for fear that his wives should be carried off by his enemies. *Gaster* has rightly objected to the opinion of *Cassuto*, showing that "Mot does not come into the picture".⁵⁾ On the other hand it cannot be denied that Baal's daughters are mentioned, 51:VI:10 f. Unhappily, the text is badly broken here, so we do not get more than the names of Baal's daughters and the negation *al*, line 10. Also "the beloved of Il, Sea" is mentioned, []dd. il ym, line 12. But so fragmentary as the text is here, there is no context which can give any help.

We shall probably get more help from the context when Baal gives the order to make a window in his house, 51:VII:14 ff. At the same time as he orders this, he also orders a cleft to be opened in the clouds, wy[p]th. bdqt. 'rpt, line 19. Here is clearly a parallel action. The meaning of the opening of a cleft in the clouds seems pretty clear. The intention is to make an opening for the rain and thus to further fertility. *Gaster* has seen the significance of this context and of the motif used here. He has rightly interpreted the meaning of the text, apparently without seeing that he has given two different interpretations of the window, each time putting it into a new connection.

The window is so clearly connected with rain and thunder in

¹⁾ *Orientalia*, 7, 1938, pp. 265 ff.

²⁾ *BASOR*, 46, 1932, pp. 15 ff; 50, 1933, pp. 13 ff; *JPOS*, 14, 1934, pp. 115 ff.

³⁾ *Tarbīz*, 5, 1933, pp. 75 ff.

⁴⁾ *Obermann*, *UM*, pp. 11, 31. *Gaster*, *Thespis*, pp. 175 f.

⁵⁾ *Op. cit.* p. 175.

51:VII:15 ff that there can be no doubt that it plays a part in the fertility cult.¹⁾ *Schaeffer* has tried to give a picture of this rôle, after having made a thorough-going investigation of the Baal temple at R Sh. He found a staircase in the end tower, giving access to the skylight which was made when the temple was built.²⁾ He thinks the intention was that the rain should fall through the skylight in the roof, "on to the face of the god represented on the stele, which stood in the sanctuary".³⁾ According to *Schaeffer* the top of the big Baal stele appears to be worn away, as if it had for a long time been exposed to the rain.⁴⁾

Be this as it may, *Gaster* seems to be right in seeing 51:VII:15 ff as a text mythologizing "a rainmaking ceremony which formed part of the ritual of the autumn festival".⁵⁾ Windows were opened in the temple in order to make Baal open the "windows of heaven" or the "cleft of the clouds", bdqt. ʿrpt, 51:VII:19. The window is called urbt, 51:V:123. 126. VI:8, VII:18. The same word is found in Hebrew, in a context which is a parallel to the one found in 51:VII:15 ff. It is told that when the great flood started, "the windows of heaven were opened", נפתחו וארבת השמים, Gen. 7:11.

Even if there can be little doubt that the window of Baal's house is put there to further rain and fertility, it is still necessary to find out why Baal did not originally want this window. *Engnell* holds that the purpose of this trait is, at least in part, to give the moment of excitement.⁶⁾ Probably, he is right in this. I think we have here a literary device, the use of suspense to stress the importance of this point.

Baal was "lord of the ploughed furrows", b'l. ʿnt. mḥrtt, and "Prince, lord of earth", zbl. b'l. arš, 49:IV:27, 29. He

¹⁾ This was seen by the French excavators and first editors: *Virolleaud*, Syria, XIII, 1932, pp. 146 ff, *Dussaud*, RHR, CV, 1932, p. 297, Les Découvertes de R Sh., pp. 73 ff, *Schaeffer*, Cun. Texts, pp. 49 ff, 68. Cf. also *Hvidberg*, Graad og Latter, pp. 28 ff.

²⁾ *Schaeffer*, op. cit. p. 68.

³⁾ Ibid.

⁴⁾ Op. cit. p. 68, pl. XXXII, fig. 2.

⁵⁾ Thespis, p. 181.

⁶⁾ Studies in Divine Kingship, p. 116.

was lord of growth and fertility, of everything growing from the earth.

Dead or alive, Baal is found in the good and beautiful fields, n^cmy. arš. dbr. ysmt. šd. šhlmmt, 49:II:19 f, 67:VI:6 f, VI:28-30. This is no accident. Where Baal is present, the fields will thrive. Grass and trees will grow. In the difficult text no. 75 we find an utterance, most probably about Baal: šb^c. šnt. il. mla (75:II:45), "seven years the god is abundant". It cannot be proved that the god here is Baal, but he is mentioned in lines 34 and 54 and is most likely the god also here. The sentence fits well with other words about Baal. We cannot, however, draw such far-reaching conclusions from this line as does *Gordon*.¹⁾

Text 132 is in a very fragmentary state. Only a part of some lines are kept. These parts tell in open words about the hierogamy between Baal and Virgin Anat, but as all context is lacking we cannot know much about it. It is probable that the hierogamy took place during the great annual festival. The intention was again to further fertility.

In the ancient Near East the bull was the well-known symbol for fertility (as also for the storm and rain god Hadad). Baal is also seen as a bull. He loves a cow (Anat?) who bears a bull to him, 76:III:14 ff. That this is a fertility rite can be seen from the fact that Baal loved a young cow in the same fields where he was so often found, just when he was going down into the earth, 67:V:18 ff. This is an attempt of the (bull-)god to make sure that life continues even if he himself has to go down to the realm of death and darkness. The progeniture is a necessary process of the bull-god; it creates not only progeny but it also furthers fertility for animals, grass and trees, yea, even for man.

Baal's rôle as a bull-god is most important as it underlines his character of a fertility god. As mentioned above it was a feature typical for Hadad. Baal's identification with Hadad has also been proved above.²⁾ The leading god of the Ugaritic pantheon seems however always to have been pictured as a bull-god. This is the case with Il, who is often called tr. il, "Bull Il", 49:IV:34,

¹⁾ UL, p. 4.

²⁾ Pp. 50 ff.

VI:26 f; 51:III:31, IV:47; 129:16 f, 19, 21. e.a. Sometimes he is also called *ṭr.abh.il*, 137:16, 33, 36; or *ṭr.il.dpid*, 51:II:10. There is no reason to think that this designation is late. It certainly did not come into use in a period when Il was already receding into the background. Most probably the leading god of Ugarit always was a fertility god, so also Il. The designation *ṭr*, at least, points in that direction. Baal was unusually apt to take up the heritage after Il, as he also was a typical fertility god, closely connected with the bull. Probably this was also one of the reasons why he was able to replace Il as head of the Ugaritic pantheon.

2. Baal as a Fighter.

The R Sh texts do not show very clearly how Baal rose to the power he possessed. As shown above, there are many indications that Baal was not always so mighty. Usually in other Near Eastern religions, gods are replaced by other ones through a fight. So was the case in Hurrian religion.¹⁾ Here Alalu was "king in heaven". Anu fought against him and conquered his throne. The strong Kumarbi took up the fight in the place of Alalu and the dethroned Anu. Kumarbi himself was replaced by the Weather-God (*Teššub*), but the tablets are broken, so it is not known how this happened. But as far as can be seen from the texts, a battle with the previous head of the pantheon and a victory over him seem to be necessary to achieve the leadership in heaven. This is the simplest type of battle which had to be fought for winning kingship among the gods.

Another type is found in the Babylonian creation epic *Enuma eliš*. Here the gods are attacked by the monster Tiamat, who was angry because her husband Apsu had been killed by one of the gods, Ea.²⁾ The two previously most important gods, Ea and Anu, tried in vain to defeat Tiamat. The gods were in great distress and they did not know what to do. Ansar, "the father of the gods", suggested that his great-grandson Marduk, a young god, should

¹⁾ *H. G. Güterbock*: Kumarbi. Istanbul 1946. The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi Myths, *AJA*, 52, 1948, pp. 123-134.

²⁾ *Enuma eliš*, tabl. I.

fight the monster.¹⁾ Marduk was willing to do so, but only if the gods would make him their king, let him command and determine the destinies.²⁾ The gods were glad to have this chance to get rid of their enemy, and willingly gave Marduk the power he demanded.³⁾ He was victorious in the fierce battle, and Tiamat was killed.⁴⁾ Marduk then started creating the world, and man.⁵⁾ He ordered a shrine to be built in Babylon. That was Esagila, the famous temple of Marduk.⁶⁾ The Anunnaki made the first suggestion that they wanted to build a shrine as a sign of their gratitude.

A third type of battle is also found. That is the kind of battle fought when the dethroned god is not willing to accept the change of power and tries to defeat the new head, usually with the help of some powerful warrior. There is an example of this type in the Hurrian myth of Ullikummi. Kumarbi refused to accept the leadership of the Weather-God. He therefore brought up an immense stone monster, Ullikummi, growing up from the sea. This dangerous threat to the gods caused much alarm, in the same way as did Tiamat among the Babylonian gods. The wise god Ea found some way to break the power of the monster. Unhappily, the last part of the text is missing. It is probable that it contained the description of the final battle in which the gods overcame Ullikummi, and the Weather-God reestablished his kingship⁷⁾.

In the R Sh texts Baal has several fights. Two of them are only briefly mentioned, that with Mot and that with Aṭtar. Both of these gods were his adversaries and tried to occupy in some way his place. But in spite of this they cannot be considered as very dangerous enemies. Aṭtar was certainly no match for Baal. He was probably chosen as a substitute for Baal just because of his incompetence.⁸⁾ The intention was that he should cause no

¹⁾ E. E. II:92 ff.

²⁾ E. E. II:123 ff.

³⁾ E. E. III:130 ff, IV:1 ff.

⁴⁾ E. E. IV:93 ff.

⁵⁾ E. E. IV:135 ff, V, VI:1-34.

⁶⁾ E. E. VI:47 ff.

⁷⁾ So Güterbock, AJA, 52, p. 130. It is not unlikely that it was the Weather-God himself who overcame Ullikummi.

⁸⁾ So also Gordon, UL, p. 44.

trouble for Baal when he returned from the realm of death. Baal had consequently no difficulty in turning away Aṭtar, 49:V:1 ff.

Also Baal's actual fight with Mot is short. The result is already settled. The battle is part of a cycle, and it is Baal's turn to win. Moreover, also Anat has previously fought Mot, and he is already defeated when he goes into struggle with Baal, 49:II:9 ff, 30 ff, V:4, VI:16 ff.

Mot is playing his part in the seasonal battle between rain-time and summer-time. Nevertheless, there are indications that Mot is also part of another context. Here we come to type three, mentioned above. Mot was not only fighting for himself. Il supported his kingship, presumably to keep Baal down, 49:VI:27 ff. Mot was "the beloved one of Il, the hero", ydd.il. ḡzr, 49:VI:30 f, 51:VII:46 f. When he loses his battle with Baal, it is supposed that Il has (temporarily) withdrawn his support, 49:VI:24 ff. There seems to be some double-dealing from Il's side. He mourns when Baal has to go down into earth, 67:VI:11 ff, but he is soon ready to have another god installed on the throne of Baal.¹⁾

The battle between Baal and Mot was a standing struggle, taking place anew each year. The two gods were victorious each in their turn, so it is understandable if Il did not take too much interest in this strife. The result of the seasonal combat was given each time.

Possibly it would be better not to speak of a struggle in the cases when Mot was victorious. The contest took place at a time when Baal seemed to be completely paralyzed. He had no choice. The possibility of a battle was not open to him. Just after a window is opened in his house, 51:VII:25 ff,²⁾ Baal watches the enemies drawing near. He at once recognizes Mot as their leader, but he is in no mood for fighting him. Baal's destiny is fixed and his actions are paralyzed. Instead of preparing for battle he goes home to his house and weeps, 51:VII:42. He sends his messengers to Mot, 51:VII:53 ff, but ends by declaring himself as Mot's slave, 67:II:10 ff.

When we remember Baal's furious fight with Mot after his

¹⁾ See however the implications here, dealt with by *Gordon*, UL, p. 44.

²⁾ Is there a connection between this opening of the window and the coming of the enemies? The text does not say more about it, so we cannot know.

return from the depths of the earth, 49:VI:16 ff, it is obvious that Baal's attitude is determined by the shifting of the seasons. When the rains came, Baal was revived and wanted to fight. When the dry season started, Baal was dying and no more able to take up a fight with his adversary. It sounds like bitter irony when Mot just at this point reminds Baal of his great victory when he smote and destroyed the powerful serpent Lotan, 67:I:1 ff. That time has passed now and Baal is powerless and helpless in the hands of his enemy.

There is nothing in the texts about Baal's fight with Lotan. Anat, however, who claims that she defeated all the enemies of Baal, also mentions that she "crushed the writhing serpent, the accursed one of seven heads",¹⁾ mḥšt. bṭn. ʿqltn. šlyt. d. šb' t. rašm., ʿnt:III:38 f. Apart from the first verb and the name of the monster, the description of the creature is given in exactly the same words in both cases. It is therefore reasonable to believe that the same monster is meant. In Baal's case it is called Lotan, ltn, 67:I:1-3, 28-30.²⁾ This name was probably a common designation for a sea monster in the ancient Near East. In the R Sh texts it is found in the places mentioned and in an interesting combination: Anat-Lotan, ʿnt ltn, 9:17. In the text no. 9 a sacrifice is ordered for Anat-Lotan. Anat's combination with Lotan seems to indicate that she was right in her claim, that she had actually some part in the victory over Lotan.

When Anat mentions the crooked serpent, whom she claims to have killed, she calls it Tannin, tnn, ʿnt:III:37. Also this name is well known from the O.T., where it was used in several connections and with different meanings. It sometimes designates a great sea monster, possibly a dragon, Jer 51:34, Jes 51:9, Ps. 74:13, Job 7:12.

As mentioned above there is apparently no narrative in the R Sh texts that tells about the battle with Lotan or Tannin. This can mean only one of two things: the texts telling about the struggle with Lotan/Tannin are lost or the story is found in some of the texts excavated, but with another name for the sea monster.

¹⁾ Gordon's translation, UL, pp. 20, 38.

²⁾ Cf. לִרְתֵּן in the O.T., Isa. 27:1, Ps. 74:14, 104:23, Job 3:8, 40:25.

There are different opinions on this point among scholars, but I agree fully with *Gaster* who has no doubt that Lotan is identical with Prince Sea.¹⁾ There is no reason why Baal should fight several sea monsters or "rulers"; probably there was one great decisive battle.

Tannin is mentioned by Anat in complete parallelism with Il's beloved one, Sea, and "the great River", 'nt:III:35 ff. The designation mdd. il ym is used in 35-36. There is reason to believe that the parallelism continues through 37, 38 and 39, thus making Tannin, tnn, the writhing serpent with the seven heads, identical with "Prince Sea, Judge River".²⁾ The reason is that in 40 f we find again the same expression which was used in 35 f. Here another god is mentioned, Mot, mt. For this god the designation mdd. ilm. arš mt is used, 40 f. The parallelism in expressions seems to point out that something new starts in these two cases, vv. 35 and 40. If this is so, it would imply that Tannin and Prince Sea are identical. It is likely that they are.

Baal's chief battle, then, was that with Prince Sea, zbl. ym, also called Judge River, tpt. nhr, 129:16, 23 etc. Some times he is simply called ym, Sea, 137:17, 22, 26, 30 etc. He is no outsider in the Ugaritic pantheon. He was a divine being and sacrifices for him are prescribed in the lists of offerings, 1:13; 9:6. This is in accordance with the Babylonian creation story, where also Tiamat is one of the gods. The fact that "Prince Sea" is a god does thus not prevent the possibility that he can also be a monster.³⁾ In any case he is a dangerous opponent of Baal, strong and powerful and a great fighter. He had his messengers, whom he sent to Il and the assembly of the gods, 137:11 ff. He ordered them not to fall down at the feet of Il or to bow before the gods, and they acted 'according to order, 137:15 f, 30 f. Prince Sea wanted to pay no homage to Il or the other gods. He wanted to be lord of the gods himself.

Prince Sea was sufficiently strong to have his messengers make a deep impression on the Ugaritic gods. They bowed their heads deeply, and Il, the leading god, was immediately ready to give

¹⁾ Thespis, p. 186.

²⁾ 68:14 ff.

³⁾ On the character of ym, see *Gaster*, Thespis, pp. 123 f.

Prince Sea what he wanted, in spite of the fact that this meant the handing over of another god, Baal, into Prince Sea's hands, 137:21 ff. Baal, who was present, protested at once against this behaviour of the gods and asked them to lift their heads, 137:24 ff. He then seemed to attack the messengers of Prince Sea, 137:38 ff. This could naturally lead to only one thing: the decisive battle between Baal and Sea.

It is, however, only the incident which brings a tension to its bursting-point. It is evident that Prince Sea has long seen Baal as his special adversary, as he asks the gods to deliver Baal into his hands, 137:21 ff. Not the old chief god was the enemy of Prince Sea, but the young one whose star was rising.

And here we come to our point in this connection: Prince Sea was actually co-operating with Il, the head of the pantheon. He wanted to get rid of a rival, and so did Il. What the purpose of Il was, cannot easily be seen. Probably he supposed he was better able to manage Prince Sea than the stubborn Baal or possibly he intended to depose him later. In any case he supported him, and the battle between Baal and Prince Sea can therefore be considered as being of the third type mentioned above.

That this is right can be seen from several traits. Il called Prince Sea his son: *bny. yw. il* 'nt:pl. X:IV:15.¹) He gave him the name Il's Darling, *šmk. mdd. il*, 'nt:pl. X:IV:20. After having mentioned Aliyan Baal he encouraged Prince Sea to drive this god from his throne: *gršnn. lk[si mlkh]*, 'nt:pl. X:IV:24. In a difficult passage in text no. 129 it is presumably told that Tor-Il preferred Prince Sea as leader of the pantheon in his place, 129:15 ff. Part of the enthronement formula seems to be kept: *[tp]t nhr mlkt.*, Judge River, thou art king!, 129:22. By whom these words were spoken, is not clear, but *tr. il* is mentioned in the previous line.

It is also typical that as soon as the messengers of Prince Sea demand the deliverance of Baal into the hands of their lord, Il is at once willing to comply with their wishes, 137:36 ff. It is therefore certainly according to Il's wish when Prince Sea tries to

¹) There can be little doubt that *yw. il* is equivalent to *ym. il*, cf. the well-known exchange between *w* and *m*.

grasp the sovereignty over the gods, at the same time driving Baal away.

Baal, however, does not yield voluntarily to this invader into what he considers to be his own realm. Nor does he go to battle without helpers. Baal is acting according to a pattern found in several Near Eastern battle-stories.¹⁾ In the "Song of Ullikummi" the wise Ea finds out that the monster grows "on Upelluri's right shoulder like a pillar" (Frag. g. 46 f). He suggests that the gods take "the old knife with which heaven and earth have been cut asunder" and "cut the diorite Ullikummi off underneath his feet" (Frag. g. 53 f).²⁾ Thus Ullikummi's power was broken and the gods had an easy victory over the monster.

In the Babylonian creation myth Ea makes a magic object for his own use in the battle with Apsu, Tiamat's husband, and his attendant Mummu.³⁾ He also recites an incantation. When it comes to the fight with Tiamat, however, he is not able to prevail. The task now falls upon Marduk, who gets help from the gods gathered for the purpose of determining his destiny and giving him the sovereignty. Marduk is given magical power and strong, decisive weapons.⁴⁾ His battle with Tiamat, then, consequently ends in a complete victory.

Parallel features are found in the R Sh text no. 68, where the story of the battle is told. It is the smith and the master-builder of the gods, Kṭr-w-Hss, who comes to help Baal, 68:7 ff. He "determines his destiny" in promising Baal victory and eternal kingdom. His words are not only a promise; they are a real incantation, with the purpose of creating victory for Baal.

Kṭr-w-Hss also brings the weapon to Baal, a staff or a club. This most likely means that Kṭr made the club, as he was a skilled craftsman and a smith.⁵⁾ It was no usual club and Kṭr speaks an incantation over it to make it effective in the battle, 68:11 ff. These are magic words, giving the club the name of "Expeller",

¹⁾ Cf. *Gaster*, *Thespis*, p. 156.

²⁾ *Güterbock's* transl., *AJA*, 52, p. 129.

³⁾ E. E. I:61 ff.

⁴⁾ E. E. IV:19 ff.

⁵⁾ *Obermann*, *JAOS*, 67, 1947, p. 202; *Gaster*, *Thespis*, pp. 154 ff.

to enable it to expel Prince Sea and strike him down. Baal thus gets the same help from magic powers as did Marduk.

Prince Sea is, however, a hard adversary. He does not fall at the first blow, even when this is dealt with a magic club, 68:17 f. Kṭr's incantation has not been sufficiently strong, or he has used the wrong words. He makes another club and while he called the first one "Expeller", ygrš, he calls this one aymr, 68:19. The name can be translated "Driver". Apart from the change of the name and the corresponding verb, 68:19, mr instead of grš, the incantation is word by word practically the same. Only a few significant words have been added; yprsh. ym. wyql. larš, 68:22 f, "then Sea will sink down and fall to earth".¹⁾

Baal then uses the second club and this time with success. The spell of Kṭr-w-Ḥss works. The club seems to strike by itself²⁾ and it hits Prince Sea on the head, between the eyes, 68:24 f. The fate of the Sea god is described in the same words used previously by Kṭr and cited above. The destruction takes place just in the way Kṭr wanted it to happen. The strong enemy breaks together and Baal "destroys Judge River", ykly tpt. nhr, 68:27. Sea is verily dead, Baal may reign, ym. lmt. b'lm yml[k?], 68:32.³⁾

The consequences of the fight become apparent at once. Baal and Prince Sea were the two pretenders to the throne, each struggling desperately to be superior. As shown above⁴⁾ Prince Sea was supported in this battle by Il, the supreme god. Baal got no help from that side, but rather from another. The magical devices of the master-smith, Kṭr-w-Ḥss, turned out to be much more useful than the support from the old and probably already weakened Il. The young gods, the newcomers in the pantheon, were most powerful and now took a leading rôle. Il could find no other adversary for Baal and had to accept him. Baal's annual battles with Mot were of another type than that with Prince Sea. Mot could never hope to be able to win a lasting victory and he

¹⁾ Baal's battle with Prince Sea has been thoroughly treated by *Obermann*, who underlines the differences in the incantations, JAOS, 67, pp. 195-208.

²⁾ Cf. *Gaster*, Thespis, p. 158.

³⁾ I cannot accept *Gaster's* translation, Thespis, p. 160. *Obermann* is certainly right, JAOS, 67, pp. 201, 205.

⁴⁾ Pp. 103 f.

was actually, as pointed out above,¹⁾ no match for Baal. It nevertheless looks as if Il supported also him, 49:VI:25 ff.

It has been pointed out above that the fight between Baal and Prince Sea can be classified as belonging to the third type mentioned: the battle to win over an enemy supported by the former head of the pantheon. This naturally implies that when the battle is over, the victorious god will be the new head of the gods, their king. That this was so in ancient Ugarit, is clearly stated in the line cited above, 68:32. Also the goddesses call him king and judge: *mlkn. aliyn. b'l. tptn. in d'ln*, "our king is Aliyan Baal, our judge, and there is none above him", 'nt:pl.VI:V:40 f, cf. 51:IV:43 f. Baal had won the battle and as a corollary he was accepted as king by the gods.

While in text no. 68 (III AB) it is Baal who defeats Prince Sea, with the help of the weapons he gets from Ktr-w-Hss, we meet in 'nt:III:35 ff with the embarrassing fact that Anat claims the same victory.

<i>lmḥšt. mmd. il ym</i>	Did I not crush Il's beloved, Sea?
<i>lkl't nhr. il rbm</i>	Did I not destroy River, the great god?
	('nt:III:35-36) ²⁾

She also claims victory over Mot, but in this case the texts really tell that she took part, 49:II:9 ff. Not so in the case of Prince Sea. We can only guess that the fierce, warlike goddess followed her husband in all battles where he was active, and that consequently his victories were hers too. That is the only way in which it can be possible for her to claim the victory over Prince Sea as her own.

What a ferocious fighter Anat was, can be seen from the description in 'nt:II:5 ff. She loved a violent struggle and enjoyed wading in blood and cut-off limbs. Probably she was thought of as backing up Baal in his fight with Prince Sea.

¹⁾ Pp. 99 f.

²⁾ The verbs are in the perfect and can thus also be translated as future, a translation which is, however, not likely to be correct. The ending is the same which is used for 3 f. sing., 2 m. & f. sing. The verb could thus be translated otherwise, but the imperf.'s (Gt) used in 43 f, *imḥšš witrṭ (w-iwtrṭ)*, show that we have here 1. sing. Cf. *Gordon, UH, 76.*

How passionately she loved battle and weapons is shown clearly in the Aqht-text. She wanted the fine bow of Aqhat so much that she was willing to do anything to get it, II Aqht:VI:16 ff. When everything had been tried in vain and she had only got a contemptuous answer from Aqhat, she sought the help of Il. Finally she sent out her soldier Ytpn, disguised as an eagle, III Aqht:obv.:5 ff. He killed Aqhat, but seems to have lost the bow, so that the warlike lady did not get it after all, I Aqht:15 ff.

It would have been most appropriate if Anat had carried a bow, as also Baal is pictured going out with bow and arc, 76:II:6 f. These were not the usual weapons of the god. The stele found in R Sh shows Baal brandishing a club and holding a stylized thunderbolt ending in a spear-head.¹⁾ They were his symbols as storm, rain and weather god and were probably the weapons most usually connected with him.

When Baal walked out with his arc and bow he met Anat. He greeted her with good wishes and then suddenly mentioned their co-operation in destroying Baal's enemies, in words which leave no doubt that at least Baal himself considered Anat as having taken part in the task of destroying his enemies:

nt' n. barš. iby We have planted my enemies in the earth
wb' pr. qm. aḥk and in the dust those who rise against your
brother. (76:II:24 f).

This is all Baal says about the whole thing. He admits collaboration with Anat and certainly is of the opinion that this is a thing which binds them together, according to ancient Near Eastern ideas.²⁾ But he gives no details, so it is still unknown how the collaboration worked.

There are other indications that Baal and Anat were regarded as a unit in their capacity as fighters. Their "soldiers" are mentioned together:

mhr. b'l. w mhr. 'nt The soldiers of Baal and the soldiers of
Anat. (124:8 f; 123:7 f).

¹⁾ *Schaeffer*, *Cun. Texts*, pl. XXXII:2.

²⁾ Cf. *Gilgameš and Enkidu*, *Gilgameš VIII*:60 ff.

There is nothing more told about these soldiers, so also here we are left in darkness. The text cycle, to which the text belongs, is somewhat isolated and does not give any clue to further knowledge. "Heroes" are mentioned, *g'zrm*, 124:7. In 124:8 are also mentioned the "*rpu b'l*", which is another riddle. These "shades of Baal" are probably mentioned in parallelism with "the soldiers of Baal". Is this a hint that these soldiers were identical with "the shades of the dead", that they were deities themselves?¹⁾

The picture given of Baal as a fighter and a warrior in the R Sh texts is somewhat complicated. He opposes Prince Sea vigorously, but he is only able to defeat him with the help of the club of *Ktr-w-Hss* and his incantation. Probably also Anat helped him.

He was able to drive Asherah's weak son from his throne, but in his battle with Mot he again got help from Anat. When Mot first ordered him from his throne into the earth, he was not even able to resist, he just had to obey.

We cannot understand Baal's attitude, unless we see it against its proper background. Mythologically seen, here is a mixture of traits from a typical warlike storm and weather god and a god of a more clearly outspoken Tammuz-character. The joining of these features in one god has created some discrepancies, which seem, however, to have made no difficulties for the worshippers.

Some scholars have tried to see the battle between Baal and Prince Sea as a reflex of some historic event. It has been supposed that the narrator wanted to give "a myth designed to explain, etiologically, how the people of Ugarit succeeded in expelling a hostile invasion effected by the inhabitants of a sea region, say, on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, how they routed and deranged the invader's forces, how they destroyed his ranks into ruin."²⁾

An explanation like this might have been possible in case we had only this narrative of a battle with a sea monster handed down to posterity. As is well known this is not so. The fight described in R Sh text no. 68 (IIIAB) is only one among others found in the traditions of the neighbouring peoples. Already the

¹⁾ Cf. *John Gray*: The Rephaim, in *PEQ*, 84, 1949, pp. 127-139.

²⁾ *Obermann*, *JAOS*, 67, 1947, 205.

Sumerians knew about Ninurta and his battle with the sea monster Asag. Also he is only able to achieve victory with the help of specially powerful weapons.¹⁾ This myth is a clear parallel to the story of the struggle found in the R Sh texts.²⁾ If it has a historical background, it must in this case be different from that cited above.

It must be considered unlikely that different historical events have created exactly parallel ritual-mythological texts in two different peoples. However tempting it may be to find historical events "behind" the narrative of the struggle between Baal and Prince Sea, such an interpretation is not possible. The text fits so well into an ancient Near Eastern pattern of fighting and defeating a Sea Monster to acquire full control over the throne of the gods³⁾ that the burden of proof must be said to rest upon those scholars who hold another opinion. The evidence so far given cannot be called convincing. This is, however, not strange in such a complicated question as this. One is therefore on safer ground in assuming that we have here the usual pattern.⁴⁾ Baal's fight with Prince Sea is a cultic-mythological feature and there is not sufficient evidence for another interpretation. "The fight of god and dragon—a counterpart of that enacted in ritual in order to bring in the new lease of life—is a constant theme of seasonal myths throughout the world."⁵⁾

¹⁾ *Friedrich Hrozný*, *Sumerisch-babylonische Mythen von dem Gotte Ninrag (Ninib)*, in *MVAG*, 8, 1903:5, *Tafel III*, pp. 12 ff.

²⁾ This and other parallels pointed out by *Gaster*, *Thespis*, pp. 140 ff.

³⁾ *Gaster*, *Thespis*, pp. 140 ff.

⁴⁾ That the verb *batṭa*, scatter, disperse, R Sh text no. 68:28 f, is used, does not say so much and it does certainly prove nothing. A sea monster could easily be "scattered" in ancient mythology. Another explanation is also possible. Baal was accompanied by Anat, 'nt:III:33 ff, and probably also by his soldiers, 124:9; 123:7 f. It is most likely, then, that also the sea monster had its army. — There is further no reason why šby could not be used for the divine world, as *Obermann* seems to contend, *JAOS*, 67, p. 206.—That the narrative contains recollection of a use of new kinds of weapons in the battle with the sea people, or is an etiological expression of such a popular belief (so *Obermann*, *JAOS*, 67, p. 206) is highly improbable. In battles with the sea monster special weapons were always used, that is in accordance with the pattern, cf. *Marduk and Ninurta (Nin-ib, Nin-rag)*, mentioned above. Cf. also *Gaster*, *Thespis*, pp. 156 f.

⁵⁾ *Gaster*, *Thespis*, p. 140.

him specially, 'nt:pl.IX:III:2 ff, 51:V:103 ff. It is interesting to see that before the defeat of Prince Sea it is Il, the chief god, who called Ktr and ordered him to start house-building (for Prince Sea), but after Baal's victory it is this god who asks Ktr to do the work for him, 51:V:103 ff.

Actually, there were other gods than Baal who had no house of their own. The time when Baal was alone in this respect represents a later stage when the enemies of Baal were disposed of. His most dangerous opponent, Prince Sea, had no house of his own, 129:19 f. This was a situation the mighty god could not tolerate in the long run. He had Il, the supreme god, to order that a house be built for him:

bn. bht. zbl ym Build the house of Prince Sea! (129:8).

This house will be built to Prince Sea because he is king and is going to reign over the gods, 129:22. He has the support of Il, and Il wants him to have a house.¹) Cf. also 'nt:pl.X:IV:14 ff. Then we meet an interesting feature. Both Baal and Il are at the same time calling the master-builder of the gods, Ktr-w-Hss, 'nt:VI:21 ff, pl.IX:III:4 ff. In this first battle of prestige between the two mighty gods Il is victorious, 'nt:pl.IX:21 ff. Baal has not yet shown what he is worth. He and Prince Sea are new gods in the pantheon. They have to show their power first so the other gods can know their strength. Prince Sea is supported by Il, and Ktr-w-Hss, who has to choose, prefers to obey the call of Il, the old god whose might he knew.

How this house-building ended, is not told. Probably it was never started. Prince Sea went too far in his demands. He ordered the gods to deliver Baal into his hands, 137:17 ff. Then the furious battle with Baal followed, and this time Ktr-w-Hss had no doubts as to whom he wanted to help.

Probably already before his victory Baal had complained to Anat, his consort, that he had no house like the other gods,

¹) It is probable that also 'ttr is without a house of his own, 129:4 ff, cf. *Obermann*, UM, pp. 16 ff, *Gaster*, *Thespis*, pp. 133 f. The text is, however, so mutilated and unclear and demands so many reconstructions, that I shall have to leave it out of consideration. In any case it seems to be clear that Il prefers Prince Sea also to 'ttr.

ʿnt:pl.VI:IV:1 ff, V:11 f. Anat was at once willing to help him. She promised to go to Il, her father, and ask him to allow a house to be built for Baal, ʿnt:pl.VI:IV:6 ff. She did so, but Il's decision must have had the character of an oracle. Baal tried to call Kṭr-w-Hss, ʿnt:VI:21 ff, but so did also Il, who wanted a house for Prince Sea.¹⁾

There is no doubt that we here face many problems. The strain will be less if we accept a placing of pl. IX and X of the ʿnt text before the other texts mentioned above: nos. 129, 137 & 68. But the problems do not disappear fully and it will be better to face them.

If the pl. IX and X have to be kept where they are now found, at the end of the ʿnt text, it is a clear evidence that the R Sh texts disregard chronology. This is not astonishing, as the texts are not concerned with history. They are connected with the year cycle and with the cult, and history is therefore simply irrelevant in connection with them. There is a considerable number of examples, especially in the parts which tell of Baal's death and return to life. The god apparently goes into the earth on several occasions, 67:II:2 ff; V:1 ff, and apparently he returns several times: 49:III:20, V:1. Important events have to be told in a way certain to impress the audience, therefore repetition is abundantly used in the R Sh texts to underline special events and to rouse interest in others.

In case the pl. IX and X are in their right place, it is clear that there must be some double-dealing from Il's side. Baal was of the opinion that Il had granted him a house and he summoned Kṭr-w-Hss, ʿnt:VI:21, but Il called the master-builder himself and wanted him to build a house, not for Baal, but for Prince Sea.

Two things seem to be sure. 1. Anat and Baal must have got

¹⁾ As will be seen, the question of time comes in here. I do not think here are different "sources". The whole thing is too consistent for that. There is a question, however, whether the pl. IX and X of the ʿnt text may not have to be placed before Baal's battle with Prince Sea, that is: before nos. 129, 137 and 68? That is, in any case, the place where they belong chronologically. It has to be stressed, however, that no strict chronology is found in the AB cycle. There is constantly chronological overlapping, so chronology must be used with the utmost caution or placing of the different texts.

the impression that Il consented to the building of a house for Baal, 'nt:VI:21 ff.¹⁾ 2. It must, however, have become clear for them at last that Il's consent was not really obtained. They had to try in another way, namely through Asherah, Il's wife, 51:I:22f, II:13 ff, III:23 ff.

These facts are independent of the placing of pl. IX and X of the 'nt text. They show that in any case it can be ascertained that Il has been double-dealing. He did not comply with Anat's wishes, though he must have tried to give her and Baal the impression that he really did so.

On the other hand the style of the narrative and the choice of words are the same in both cases: as well when Anat interferes as when Asherah does so. There is therefore no reason to suppose that we here find different sources, one telling about the intercession of Anat, another about that of Asherah.²⁾

Baal seems to have been sure that only through the help of a goddess he could be able to obtain Il's permission to build a house for himself. Probably this feeling was caused by the somewhat strained relations between Il and Baal. But it may also be a fine trait from the hand of the narrator. Il's love of women was well known, cf. text no. 52 (Birth of the Gods). There may therefore be a hidden allusion here to this fact. At the same time another motif is added to the story: the young god knows the weak side of the old one. He sends a goddess to Il because he is convinced that the chief god is unable to refuse to comply with her wishes. Just as sure is also Anat. She has no doubt that she will be able to convince Il, 'nt:pl.VI:IV:7 ff.

For some reason she must have failed and even achieved a result quite opposite to the one she aimed at. If the order of the texts is pl. VI-IX-X,³⁾ Il seems to have called the master-builder Kṭr and ordered him to build a house, not for Baal, but for Prince Sea, 'nt:pl.X:IV:14 ff. In any case: Anat was not able to fulfill her mission.⁴⁾ She stressed the fact that Baal had "no house like

1) *Obermann* has stressed this from another point of view, UM, pp. 81 f. I cannot share his opinion that different sources are here involved.

2) *Obermann*, UM, pp. 72-82.

3) As supposed e.g. by *Gordon*, UL, pp. 21 ff.

4) I cannot evade the impression that this is a stylistic trait by the author,

the gods, nor a court like the sons of Asherah", 'nt:pl.VI:V:46f, but in vain.

Baal, however, had to have his temple, by any means. A temple was a sign that he was a god of importance, and he could not go on without having his own house. A temple would mean that he had broken the resistance of the other gods and won a real victory.

When Anat was not able to get the necessary consent from Il, she tried to help Baal in another way. They both asked Asherah, the consort of Il, to help Baal, 51:II:13, III:23 ff. She was willing and had her ass saddled at once, 51:IV:4 ff. When she arrived at Il's court, she used the same words as Anat, 51:IV:40 ff, cf. 'nt:pl.VI:V:37 ff. This is a type of stylistic device often used in the AB cycle. In the way it is used here it makes it highly improbable that we have two sources, one telling about Anat as Baal's helper, another of Asherah in the same rôle.¹⁾ The whole story is told in the same style. There is clearly no change, and repetition is used to raise the tension.

In using the same words as Anat Asherah also characterizes Baal as "our king and our judge" with the important addition that "none is above him", mlkn. aliy[n] b'l. tptn. win. d'lnh, 51:IV:43 f.

In this case, when the plea is made by Asherah, his own consort, and not by Anat, Il does not hesitate to give his consent: ybn. bt. lb'l, 51:IV:62. Asherah praises Il for his great wisdom in making this decision and at once brings the glad tidings to Baal, through the agency of Anat, 51:V:82 ff.

Asherah orders the information given to Baal that he must gather the necessary builders to have his temple erected. The mountains and the hills will yield gold and silver so it will truly be a fine house, 51:V:74 ff.²⁾ There is not the least sign here that gold and silver represent new metals, as supposed by *Obermann*.³⁾ They are just mentioned together with lapis lazuli to show the

used to rise the interest in what is going to happen. The temple building is one of the climaxes of the cycle and the story has to be told with many details. Anat's failure is just of the author's use of delay to heighten suspense.

¹⁾ Cf. *Obermann*: UM, p. 85.

²⁾ Cf. *Gaster's* transl., Thespis, p. 173 of ḥrn and 'šbt.

³⁾ UM, pp. 14, 84.

splendour of the new temple. The age of metallurgy had started long ago.

Anat brought the news to Baal, in the same words used by Asherah, according to the stylistic use in the R Sh texts. Baal lost no time, but at once called the master-builder, Kṭr-w-Hss, who arrived. He was ordered to build a large temple on the heights of the mountain Šapān, 51:V:111 ff.¹⁾ Baal wanted him to work in a hurry and this was apparently done. Chosen cedars were brought from Syria and Lebanon and used for the building 51:VI:18 ff. Also gold and silver were used in abundance, according to the advice of Asherah, 51:V:74 ff, VI:34 ff. Baal rejoiced when the temple was finished and boasted of his fine house built of silver and gold, 51:VI:35 ff.

The only controversy between Baal and the master builder was concerning the necessity of having a window in the house. Baal did not want a window. Why he did not want it, is not so easily found out as the lines where he probably gives the reason are badly broken, 51:VI:10 ff.²⁾ At any rate the master builder got his will at last. Baal ordered a window to be opened and Kṭr-w-Hss laughed in triumph, 51:VII:13 ff. He had fulfilled his task, the house was ready for use.

Baal was proud of his house and mentioned it in boasting voice to Mot, 51:VIII:32 ff. He made it ready so that he could gather the gods for a banquet, 51:VI:38 ff. The festival is started with the slaughtering of the animals for the meal: oxen, sheep, calves, goats and kids, all the usual types of creatures used not only for eating, but also for sacrifices, 51:VI:40 ff. "The seventy sons of Asherah", šb'm. bn. aṭrt, are called, 51:VI:46.³⁾ Seventy is not only a round number, but also a holy number, well suited for gods. The types of gods who gathered for the meal, are mentioned. They were the sheep gods, ilm. krm., the ewe goddesses, ilht.

¹⁾ It is impossible to understand how *Obermann* can read out of the text that Baal obtained Il's consent under false pretenses and built a much more important house than Il expected, UM, pp. 2 f. There is not even a hint about this in the text. On the contrary: Asherah's words, 51:V:74 ff, show clearly that a splendid building was expected.

²⁾ The question is discussed above, pp. 95 f.

³⁾ Concerning the seventy gods, cf. *Gaster*, *Thespis*, p. 178.

ḥprt., the bull gods, ilm. alpm., the cow goddesses, ilht. arḥt, the throne gods, ilm. kḥṭm, the chair goddesses, ilht. ksāt, the jar gods, ilm. rḥbt, the jug goddesses, ilht. dkrt, 51:VI:47-54.

There can be not doubt as to the character of these gods and goddesses. They are all fertility gods. They represent different sides of the fertility aspect, but they are, as far as we can see, all of about the same character as Baal himself. Also the throne gods and goddesses were closely connected with the reigning fertility god.

This banquet of the gods must not be seen as pure mythology. It is a feature known also from other religions¹⁾ in the ancient Near East. Important is what is told about Marduk in the *Enuma eliš*. When he had been installed as king of the gods, he presided at a great banquet of the Babylonian gods, E. E. III:133 ff, IV:54. In Hittite religion Telepinuš was greeted at a banquet by the other gods when he returned after his disappearance, Telepinuš myth, recension A:III:28 ff.²⁾

The fact has been pointed to above that *Enuma eliš* and the Telepinuš myth were texts used in the religious cult.³⁾ I have also tried to show that the AB cycle had the same "Sitz im Leben".⁴⁾ That has consequences also for our understanding of the character of Baal's banquet for the gods. I have already mentioned that the animals slaughtered for the meal of the gods were those usually used for sacrifices. That is not accidental.

The banquet of the gods is a picture from the cultic life. Here is a great festival, with sacrifices of all kinds of animals and of wine, enough to satisfy the gods, 51:VI:47 ff, špq. ilm. ... yn. ... ʿd. lḥm. šty. ilm. Probably the text no. 51 was dramatically performed or recited during the festival as part of the ritual. It could then show those who took part that the sacrifices and the meal were of divine origin. It had all been instituted by Baal when his temple was finished. The events which took place then were re-enacted in the cult by the worshippers, who brought sacrifices

¹⁾ *Gaster*, *Thespis*, pp. 177 ff.

²⁾ Cf. *Gaster*, *Thespis*, pp. 373 f.

³⁾ Pp. 30, 38 f.

⁴⁾ So also *Gaster*, *Thespis*, pp. 1 ff, *Engnell*, *Studies*, pp. 97 ff.

for the gods and took part in a great meal, probably of a sacramental character. It was a meal together with the gods with the purpose of enhancing fertility in the coming year. Everything seems to indicate that this happened during the New Year festival.

In this way Baal was also a cult founder. He had a house built for him. There his worshippers could find him. We are told in the texts that they did so. Danil, the king, wanted a son who could "eat his meal in the house of Baal" and in the house of Il, II Aqht: I: 32 f, II: 4 f, 21 f. We have here a fine illustration to what has been said above. It shows close connection between the myth and the cult. Not only in the myth was Baal in his house. He could surely be found there in the cult. Not only the gods had their meal in the house of Baal, also the king and his men had their sacrificial meal there. Baal was seen as a founder of these meals and the story just discussed tells how it happened.

4. The Descent of Baal into the Earth.

That Baal was a prominent fighter has been shown above.¹⁾ He loved battles and apparently sought them when adversaries tried to cause him trouble, no. 137: 38 ff, no. 68, no. 49: VI: 16 ff. He was often helped by Anat, 76: II: 6 ff, but never seemed to be in real danger of being defeated. He was the young victorious god and his enemies had to accept defeat as their fate.

Il, the head of the pantheon, seems to have been an adversary of Baal, at least for some time, till the struggle for power was ended in the favour of Baal. Il tried with the help of Prince Sea to have Baal driven away, 137: 36 ff, 'nt: pl. X: IV: 13 ff, but in vain. Baal was too strong, and Prince Sea was definitely defeated, no. 68.

But, like other heroes, Baal is not invulnerable for ever. When his time has come, he has to resign and go into the earth, like mortal beings. It is in line with what has been said above that Baal is not defeated in a battle. For some reason he seems suddenly to have lost his power. He is unable and unwilling to fight. His time is up. The time of Mot, his adversary, has come. This is a fine

¹⁾ V: 2, pp. 98 ff.

X indication that we do not here have a myth arbitrarily composed by an author. The story has a very definite background. The year cycle with its changing seasons can easily be seen. Only that background can explain how Baal could lose his power so suddenly (and regain it later). Only that can explain why Baal had to yield to his enemy Mot without even being able to strike back. The characters of the two gods point in the same direction: Baal, clearly the mighty god of rain and fertility,¹⁾ Mot, the god of aridity and sterility.²⁾ (That Mot also has other sides, as has Baal, cannot be touched upon here.)³⁾ The question concerning the relationship between these two gods will be treated later. The necessary discussion cannot be undertaken here.⁴⁾ It has only been necessary to touch upon the question to give an impression of how Baal's unexpected yielding to Mot can be understood.

If Baal had been in possession of his usual power he would have given the same answer to the challenge of Mot as he gave to the derision of Prince Sea, namely a fierce battle. Mot characterized himself as the one who was going to rule over the gods and command gods and men, 51:VII:49 ff. This was the type of competition Baal was usually not willing to accept. It was a signal to battle. But Baal did not answer as he used. It is never told directly that he had lost his power or grown old. His inability to act must have had a special reason, which can be found in the realm of time. Baal's time was up, that is the simple explanation.

Baal and Mot were so closely connected with nature and its life that they had to follow the time-table which nature dictated to them. As far as I can see, this is the sole satisfactory explanation of the mythological and psychologic riddle of the relationship between Baal and Mot.⁵⁾

Baal did not fight Mot. Instead of that he sent his messengers gpn-w-ugr⁶⁾ to him, 51:VII:53 ff. Their task may probably

¹⁾ *Gaster*, *Thespis*, pp. 122 f.

²⁾ *Ibid*, pp. 124 f.

³⁾ I disagree with *Gaster*, *op.cit.* p. 124.

⁴⁾ See pp. 125 f.

⁵⁾ Cf. *Vivian* and *Isaac Jacobs*, *HTR*, 38, 1945, p. 105:—"it is the order of nature, which permeates our myth...". Cf. also p. 95.

⁶⁾ Cf. *H. L. Ginsberg* in *BASOR* 95, 1944, pp. 25-30.

have been to tell Mot that Baal was still the one who reigned and that Mot had to live in dark and dry places.¹⁾ In any case it is a rather diplomatic and cautious way to treat a dangerous rival. The cautious character of the whole enterprise is underlined by the warning Baal gave to his messengers: that they must not draw near the god Mot, lest he made them like a lamb in his mouth, 51:VIII:15 ff. They are ordered to bow and fall at the feet of Mot, to prostrate themselves and pay homage to him, 51:VIII:25 ff. This is certainly not the same Baal who criticized the gods because they bowed before the messengers of Prince Sea, 137:24 ff. He has been changed. He cannot fight against the irresistible force of time. His time is up. That is the fact which works in him and decides his actions or more properly: his lack of action.

As might be expected under these circumstances the messengers of Baal were unable to impress Mot in any way. What is destined to happen, must happen. The time of Mot had come, he knew what he wanted. He would have his revenge on Baal because he had smitten and destroyed Lotan, the serpent, 67:I:1 ff. The type of relationship between Mot and Lotan is not mentioned. They only seem to have been fighting on the same side. As no narrative has been found which tells about a battle between Baal and the serpent it cannot be too audacious to draw the conclusion that Lotan is identical with Prince Sea.²⁾ However this may be, Lotan in any case represents destruction and death, as did serpents and dragons in Near Eastern mythology and cult. (Cf. Is. 27:1, Rev. 12:9.)

When Mot was in close cooperation with Lotan, his character must certainly have had some of the same traits which were typical for the dangerous snake. Also in this way we come to the conclusion that Mot must have been a god of death and destruction.

The messengers of Baal had to bring him the message that Mot wanted him to eat and drink together with Mot's brothers in the netherworld, 67:I:24 f. The same sad fate with which Mot had met was going to be that of Baal. The netherworld had already

¹⁾ So *Gaster* interprets the following lines, *Thespis* p. 183.

²⁾ So also other scholars, cf. *Gaster*, *Thespis*, p. 186. *Obermann*, however, informed me orally that he had some doubts about this identification.

opened its mouth to swallow him, 67:II:2 ff.¹⁾ It is expressly told that Baal feared his adversary, 67:II:6 f, *yraun. aliyn. b'l*. As mentioned above this is an unusual¹ reaction from the side of Baal. He was a fighter and did not usually hesitate to seek battle when an enemy tried to cross him. Not so this time. He sent a message to Mot of another character: "Thy slave am I", *'bdk. an*, 67:II:12. This is a complete submission, quite contrary to what Baal used to do. No wonder that Mot was glad to see this weakness of his enemy, 67:II:20. Victory was his, without a battle.

What happened next cannot easily be found out. The text (no. 67, cols. III and IV) is badly broken and what is left does not give any clear clue. Also the beginning of col. V is broken, so we do not know who speaks to Baal in the following lines, where he is ordered to go down into the earth, 67:V:14 f. He is advised to take with him all that is connected with him: the clouds, the wind, the storm (?), the rains, *wat. qh. 'rptk. rħk. mdlk. mħrtk*, 67:V:6 ff. Also his daughters had to go with him, 67:V:10 f. The question of these daughters has been discussed above.²⁾ Probably they represent certain phenomena connected with Baal. One of them is called *pdry. bt. ar*. This name is not so easily explained. Is *bt. ar* "daughter of light"? The name of the other daughter mentioned in 67:V:11 seems, however, more understandable. *ħly. bt. rb.* is probably "Talya, daughter of rain". The name itself may also be interpreted as "the girl of dew",³⁾ cf. Hebrew and Ugaritic *ħl*. There can be little doubt that also the daughters of Baal represent the same world whence also the attributes of Baal, mentioned in 67:V:6 ff, are taken.

That all of these things go down with Baal gives a clear impression of what the descent of the god really meant. Rain and clouds disappeared; the dry season was coming. Baal represented the rainy and most fertile part of the year, without which the dry part meant drought and famine.⁴⁾ That was the part of the year when

¹⁾ Cf. *Gaster*, *Thespis*, pp. 189 f.

²⁾ See pp. 80 ff.

³⁾ *Gaster*: *Dew-nymph*, *Thespis*, p. 192.

⁴⁾ *Gordon* is right that no part of the year in Palestine is sterile, *UL*, p. 4. He has, however, carried his reaction against the usual point of view too far. The yearly cycle of Baal's death and revival is not so easily disposed of.

grass and plants started growing and when fertility was a necessity of life. Summer fruits would ripen in the dry season, but that does not mean that it was a season of fertility. Nothing new could start. For *that* the rain was necessary, and rain meant fertility.

The order to go down into the netherworld is categorical: wrd. bthptt. arš, 67:V:14 f. Baal had no more objections to do and he was unable to put up a fight. He obeyed, after having copulated with a heifer in the fertile fields of Šhlmm̄t in order to assure himself male offspring, 67:V:18 ff. It is a last act of desperation, apparently created by a strong fear that he would never return from the realm of death.

Unhappily the story breaks off here. About 30 lines are broken and cannot be restored. Thus it is not known how Baal met his fate. Nor does the enigmatic text no. 75 give any help. It is told there that Baal was roaming in the desert, 75:I:35, and later that he fell like a bull: kn.npl. b'l [] km tr. wtkms. hd. p[], 75:II:54 f. The interpretation of text 75 is still tentative, and the information that can be got from it does not cast any light over text no. 67.

The text of no. 67 can be read again from col. VI:5. Some kind of report is given, but we do not know by whom.¹⁾ Those reporting came to the pastures of Šhlmm̄t, where Baal was last heard of. There they found him, lying on the earth, npl. larš, 67:VI:8 f. Aliyan Baal was dead, mt. aliyn b'l, 67:VI:9.

The message was brought to Il, the first of the gods. His reaction is interesting. Now his rival was disposed of. One might expect that Il would exult in joy and shout in triumph. That ought to be the corollary if we had here a consistent myth. But here is a text originally intended for use in the cult. The god of fertility had gone into the earth and there was no time for joy. The cult as well as the actions of those taking part in it, had to be led in a very definite direction: That of sorrow and mourning. If Il was supposed to express joy, the result would have been another. Now the head of the gods, Il himself, gives the tone of the coming cultic performance and sets the audience in the right mood. Moreover he also showed them what to do, 67:VI:11 ff.

¹⁾ Gaster has suggested that the couriers of Baal are speaking, Thespis, p. 193. Johs. Pedersen suggests Il, Illustreret Religionshist. p. 201.

Il, here mentioned by the name Ltpn. il. dpid, went down from his throne. He sat down on the earth, poured ashes and dust on his head and covered himself with sackcloth. He lacerated himself, making cuts in his face, on his arms, his chest and his back. He roamed along and shouted: b'l. mt. my. lim. bn. dgn. my. hmlt. atr. b'l., 67:VI:23 ff, "Baal is dead! Who (will now be) the people of Dagan's son, who (will be) the multitudes of Baal?" This seems to be a cult cry, intended to be repeated by the audience.

We are entitled to believe that this is so, because the acts of mourning performed by Il and his cry were repeated by Anat, when she found the body of Baal in the fields of Šhlmm, 67:VI:25 ff, 62:1 ff. Like Il she wanted to go down into the earth, to find Baal, 62:7 f, 68:VI:25. She got help from the god who was able to help her, nrt. ilm. špš, 62:8 f, 13, "the light of the gods, Šapaš." On the heaven at day and in the netherworld at night the sun goddess saw everything, nothing was hidden from her. She went with Anat, to find Baal.

When they found him, Anat ordered Šapaš to load Baal on her shoulders, 62:11 ff. Šapaš did so and Anat carried her husband and brother away. She took him up to the heights of Šapan, the place where he used to live and reign, 62:15 f. She wept over him and buried him.

Then she sacrificed for him. Six different kinds of sacrifices are mentioned. Probably there were seven, but the text is broken. For once the structure is regular:

tṭbh. šb'm. rumm.	She sacrifices seventy wild oxen
kgmn. aliyn. b'l	as an offering for Aliyan Baal.
tṭbh. šb'm. alpm.	She sacrifices seventy bulls
[kg]mn. aliyn. b'l	as an offering for Aliyan Baal.
[tṭ]bh. šb'm. šin.	She sacrifices seventy sheep
[kg]mn. aliyn. b'l	as an offering for Aliyan Baal.
[tṭ]bh. šb'm. aylm	She sacrifices seventy deer
[kgmn] aliyn. b'l	as an offering for Aliyan Baal.
[tṭbh] š]b'm. y'lm	She sacrifices seventy wild goats
[kgmn al]iyn. b'l	as an offering for Aliyan Baal.

[tṭbḥ šb' m] ḥmrm ¹⁾ She sacrifices seventy asses
 [kgmn aliyn b'l] as an offering for Aliyan Baal.
 (62:18-29)

This regular meter is somewhat unusual. Why is it used here and has it any significance that it is used just *here*? These are questions we shall have to answer.

The narrative of the sacrifices is part of a solemn section of the AB cycle. The pathetic character of this section, including 67:VI:5-31 and 62:1-29, is obvious and it is clearly expressed in its style. Three times the cult cry is found: mt. b'l, 67:VI:9, 23; 62:6. (In the first case the full form mt. aliyn b'l is used.) The acts of mourning are described in detail two times. Once they are performed by Il, the chief god, and once by Anat.

As mentioned above there can be little doubt that the mourning rites of Il and Anat actually give the pattern for those taking part in the cult performed most likely at the New Year's festival. Mourning rites took place and they were performed according to the pattern given in the text. The mourning rites reached their climax in the huge offerings for Baal. That is where the text 62:18-29 fits in. The regular rhythmic form points to the fact that we have here a climax in this part of the story. The monotonous choice of the same words underlines the importance of this section. The significant place it held in the cult has moulded its shape in a tighter form than is usual in the texts.

The height of mourning was reached. The text as well as the cult stressed this. But neither life nor cult could stop there. They must go on. So do also the texts in the AB cycle. No. 49 tells what happened while Baal was away—and what happened when he returned.

The throne of Baal could not be left empty. Somebody would have to occupy it. The narrative goes naturally over to this point, in a fine literary turn. It is probably Anat, the main person in the preceding part of the texts, who goes up to Il and pours out her

¹⁾ I have not accepted Ginsberg's restoration: [y]ḥmrm = deer, roebucks. Cf. Gordon, UL, p. 43.

bitterness and sorrow at his feet. She repeats the cult cry: kmt. aliyn. b'l. kh̄lq. zbl. b'l. ar̄ṣ, "for: Dead is Aliyan Baal, for: Perished is the Prince, Lord of Earth!" (49:I:13-15). Her female instinct tells her, however, that there are other gods who do not share her sorrow. She knows Asherah as her rival and seems to have a feeling that this goddess rejoices at her own misfortune. She cries loudly and bitterly: t̄šm̄ḥ ht aṭrt. wbn̄h. ilt. w̄šbrt. aryh, "Let Asherah and her sons rejoice, the goddess and the band of her brood!" (49:I:11-13). This gives a hint about the relationship between Baal and Asherah and between Anat and Asherah, showing the struggle for power going on between the different gods and goddesses.

But Anat's words are also a catchword for the following part of the text. Il instantaneously calls Asherah, probably in a sure feeling that he is now again head of the pantheon and thus able to decide who is going to be king. He wants one of Asherah's sons as king.

Aṭtar is the one of Asherah's sons who is chosen by his mother as being fitted for kingship. Why it was so, is the subject for a discussion between Il and Asherah. The difficulty with this discussion is the fact that the whole meaning depends on the interpretation of the particle bl. It may be a negative adverb as well as an asseverative one. It is therefore not clear whether the two gods want a king who really knows how to govern or one who does not, 49:I:20.¹⁾

In any case it was clear when Aṭtar entered the throne of Baal, that he was not fit for his new task. His feet did not reach down to the footstool, and his head did not reach up to its top, 49:I:31-33. Aṭtar himself had no doubts as to his lack of ability and openly admitted his failure: "I cannot reign as king in the heights of Sapan!" 49:I:34. The substitute king then went down from Baal's throne, which was too big for him, 49:I:35 f. He might reign in the earth, 49:I:37, but he was no worthy substitute for Baal.

The following lines of the text are lost. When the text goes on again, the incident with Aṭtar is left behind and the narrative has again gone back to Anat. She had not stopped searching for

¹⁾ Cf. the different translations of *Gordon*, *UL* p. 44, and *Gaster*, *Thespis* p. 197.

Baal. He was her "brother" and consort, she was the one who was next to him. *klb. ar[h]. l'glh. klb. ta[t]. limrh. km. lb. n[t] aṭr b'l*, "Like the heart of a cow for her calf, like the heart of a ewe for her lamb, so is the heart of Anat on account of Baal", 49:II:6-9.¹⁾

Her love of Baal makes her undertake one of the most dramatic actions mentioned in the AB cycle. It goes without saying that it must have been one of the heights in the cultic performance, setting the audience in ecstasy and preparing them for the decisive triumph at the return of Baal.

She attacked Mot and asked him to give Baal back to her. Mot was by no means willing to do so. On the contrary, he boasted that Baal had been like a lamb in his mouth, that Baal had been crushed, 49:II:21 ff.

Days and months passed while the sun was burning, 49:II:24 ff. That did not change the feelings of Anat for Baal. When she met Mot again she fell over him and seized him. And now *his* time was up.

<i>tiḥd. bn. ilm. mt.</i>	She seizes the god-son Mot
<i>bḥrb. tbq'nn.</i>	with a sword she splits him
<i>bḥṭr. tdrynn.</i>	in a sieve she scatters him
<i>bišt. tšrpnn.</i>	in fire she burns him
<i>brhm. tḥnn.</i>	with millstones she grinds him
<i>bšd. tdr'nn</i>	in the fields she sows him
<i>širh. ltkl. šrm.</i>	so that the birds may eat his remains
<i>mnth. ltkly. npr.</i>	the raven (?) destroy the parts of him.
<i>[š]ir. lšir. yšḥ</i>	Remnant shouts to remnant.
	(49:II:30-37)*

That Mot is here treated as if he were grain, is evident. If Mot is the god of death, sterility and aridity, as mentioned above,²⁾ this constitutes a problem. There is a possibility, however, that the problem mainly exists in modern minds and was not felt in ancient times. Also other scholars have warned against using rigid logic in these domains,³⁾ and I think this warning is necessary.

¹⁾ Gaster's transl., Thespis, p. 199.

²⁾ P. 119.

³⁾ Gaster, Thespis p. 124. Cf. also Jacobs, HTR 38, 1945, pp. 84 ff.

Probably *Gaster* is right when he contends that "the conception of the fell spirit was fluid and elastic and that, in the popular mind, he was so much identified with the "Adversary" that even the reaping of the grain was regarded as symbolic of his passion."¹)

The narrator wanted to show what happened to Mot, in poetic pictures. For him that could only be done in pictures from the sphere where the whole text is living. Life and death of nature, of grain, trees, cattle and sheep are woven so tightly into the story that they nearly everywhere must be seen as an integral part of it. It was therefore only natural for the narrator to depict Mot's fate in a vivid picture from the reaping and use of grain.

This seems to be a sufficient explanation, but one still has a feeling that there is something unexplained left. *Vivian* and *Isaac Jacobs* have expressed the opinion "that Mot, even if literally meaning "Death", denotes rather the spirit of the grain or of vegetation, who is often fused in seasonal folklore with the figure of "the Death".²) This is certainly to force 49:II:30-37 too far. But it stresses the fact that Mot is not only death, not only the negative principle.

This, which has been considered the problem of the god of the Ugaritic netherworld, probably gives the clue to a right understanding of his character. *Gordon* has recently pointed to the fact that in Canaan "no part of the year is sterile; thus, figs and grapes ripen toward the end, and hence worst part, of the long summer drought".³)

Mot then represents the dry season, summer with its drought, but also with ripening fruits and grain. The summer cannot be truly represented by a character who is only death, only sterility. The summer has other sides too, and these sides are found with Mot. His connection with the grain is more than a poetic trait, it is part of Mot's character.⁴) Also his connection with the scorching summer sun is underlined several times in the texts.

¹) *Gaster*, *Thespis* p. 124.

²) HTR 38, 1945, pp. 79 ff. Cited after *Gaster*, *Thespis* p. 124.

³) UL, p. 4. I do not agree with the conclusions *Gordon* draws from his point of view concerning the summer.

⁴) *Vivian* and *Isaac Rosensohn Jacobs* have fine observations on the character of Mot, but they have stressed his identity with the corn too much. I also think

nrt. ilm. špš. šḥrrt. The light of the gods, Sun, burns
la. šmm. byd. mdd. ilm. mt. The heavens (glow) on account
of Il's darling, Mot.

(51:VIII:21-24)

The same lines, with only slight variations, are found in 49:II:24 f. Probably also 67:II:5 f speak about scorched olives, herbs and fruits, but the translation is here so uncertain that we had better leave this passage out of consideration. It is of importance, however, that when Baal returns and the domination of Mot comes to an end "the heavens rain oil and the wadies run with honey", 49:III:6 f, 12 f. The lack of these phenomena was then characteristic for the reign of Mot.

This point of view that Mot represents the dry season, gives due consideration to the different sides of Mot's character and explains the apparently contradictory traits.¹⁾ That the theory works so satisfactorily is in its turn an indication that it is right. Cf. also "the perennial antagonists, Horus and Seth," in Egyptian religion.²⁾

It also goes well with the picture we have so far got of Baal. That he is closely connected with the rainy season cannot be doubted. He was the giver of rain and dew, 'nt:II:38 ff, 51:V:68 ff, 126:III:5 ff. His symbols were clouds, wind and rain, 67:V:5 ff. There was no rain and no clouds while Baal was in the nether-world. Then the sun was scorching and the heaven was glowing, 49:II:24 f, 51:VIII:21-24. The seasons had changed. Mot had replaced Baal.³⁾

But according to deep traits in human nature the dream of a better future is never nearer than when the present time is dark. The AB cycle is no mere speculation, it has sprung from man's life and

that they have made the relationship between Baal and Mot somewhat more complicated than it really was, HTR 38, 1945, pp. 77-109.

¹⁾ *Engnell* sees in Mot another aspect of Baal, SBU, vol. I, 1948, col. 531. This is a point of view well worth considering.

²⁾ *Frankfort*: Kingship and the Gods, pp. 21 ff.

³⁾ In the form I have here given the theory it will, I think, also be acceptable to *Gordon*, cf. his UL pp. 3 ff. The very special and well-known Near Eastern motif of the "seven years' drought" had better be kept out of the discussion about the characters of Baal and Mot.

deep needs. When Baal was away and the danger of having everything scorched was present, the dream of having the god back was also present. It is given as the dream of Il, the chief god, a dream where he sees the heavens rain oil and the wadies run with honey, 49:III:6 f, 12 f.

From the need and the wish then springs the cult cry:

iy. aliyn. b ^c l	Where is Aliyan Baal?
iy. zbl. b ^c l. arš	Where is the Prince, Lord of Earth?
	(49:IV:28 f, 39 f).

Baal had disappeared and the necessary rites of mourning had been performed. Now the time had come for turning the whole situation. Baal was wanted. Life could not go on without him. The time had come for calling him back. The gods gathered in the common cry: "Where is Aliyan Baal?" It is more than likely that this was a catchword for the cult. The cry arose from the audience: "Where is Aliyan Baal?" What the cry implied was: give us Baal back! Give us rain and a fertile year! An explanation of what the cult cry implied was unnecessary for those who used it. They knew. They knew the importance for life and fecundity of what happened in the cult.

The consequence of the point of view held above that Baal and Mot represent the different seasons is that we have here a yearly cycle of Baal's death and revival.¹⁾ The cultic performance of this cycle was combined on one important occasion: the New Year Festival.

Occasionally also another cycle is mentioned: that of seven years. *Gordon* is of the opinion that this is the only cycle in the AB texts.²⁾ A priori this theory seems a little improbable. Seven is a very special number in the ancient Near East. The O.T. has well-known examples. The story of Joseph tells about the seven years of famine and the seven good years, Gen. 41:25 ff. The seventh day was holy, Ex. 20:8 ff; 23:12, 34:21 ff, Deut. 5:12 ff. The seventh year was a sabbatical year, Ex. 23:10 ff, Lev. 25:1 ff.

¹⁾ The objections against this theory (now held by several scholars as *Gaster*, *Johs. Pedersen*, *Engnell*) raised by *Gordon*, UL pp. 3 ff, have been dealt with above, pp. 120 f. More about *Gordon's* attempt at a solution below.

²⁾ UL pp. 3 ff.

Seven times seven years intervened between *yōbēl*-years, Lev. 25:8 ff. The seven day cycle had a cosmic background, Gen. 2:2f. Other examples may be found, but these are sufficient in this connection.

Here we thus meet a seven days cycle, a seven years cycle, a seven times seven years cycle and a cosmic seven "days" cycle. The seven years of famine mentioned in Gen. 41:25 ff are an unusual phenomenon, recorded just because they are so unusual.

The number seven does not seem to play such an important rôle in the R Sh texts. It is, however, mentioned several times, in different connections. The seven years of famine and drought seem to have a parallel as an unusual phenomenon in I Aqht:42 ff.¹⁾ Danil threatens with a drought of seven years (and even eight), probably in a curse.

The only passage mentioned by *Gordon* which may be of some interest is 49:V:8 f. The words used stand in no connection with the events narrated in the text and in addition there are great lacunae.

l[ymm]. lyrḥm	From [days] to months
lyrḥm. lšnt.	from months to years
[?] bšb'. šnt.	— — — in the seventh year
w[?] bn. ilm. mt	And the god-son Mot — — — —
,m. aliyn. b'l	to Aliyan Baal (49:V:7-10).

What do the seven years here imply? There is actually no indication in this (or in any other) passage that *Gordon* is right in his interpretation. *Gaster* is of the opinion that Mot is revived (after some time = the symbolical seven years) and challenges the sovereignty of Baal for a second time.²⁾ I think that this point of view, which is just as likely as *Gordon's*, brings us to our point: that we can draw no decisive conclusions from the passage in 49:V:7 ff.

Another passage cited by *Gordon*, 75:II:45, does not prove anything at all.³⁾ The text is fragmentary and it is dubious if it refers to Baal.

¹⁾ Here it is evidently not a regular phenomenon, as *Gordon* supposes, UL p. 4.

²⁾ Thespis p. 202.

³⁾ *Gordon*, UL p. 3.

šb'. šnt. il. mla [] For seven years Il was filled — —

Gordon translates il = the god. That is possible, but the whole context is obscure and no conclusions can be drawn. Seven is also here mentioned in connection with eight, as in I Aqht:42 ff, and with seventy-seven and eighty-eight in lines 49 and 50. This nourishes a growing suspicion that seven is used in the R Sh texts as a round number, meaning only "several", "many".

That seven is also a holy number in the R Sh texts cannot be doubted. That is seen clearly in the text 52, "Birth of Dawn and Dusk", where several rites are ordered to be done seven times, 52:12, 14, 15, 20, 66. That Baal is not mentioned in this text does not mean what *Gordon* supposes it does. I have shown above in what connection text 52 has to be placed.¹⁾

Baal's descent to the nether-world had nothing to do with a seven years cycle. It was an event in much closer contact with daily life. It sprung from the changing of the seasons, from the fears and hopes of men whose existence was dependent on the coming of the rain, and on the fertility of fields and animals.²⁾ Those fears and hopes were expressed in the cultic life, the channel through which all religious life of these past ages had to go.

5. Baal as Rising and Victorious God, King on Sapan.

Baal could not be held in the Nether World. That was what might be expected. He had to go down when Mot demanded it, because his time was up. But then the conclusion must be close at hand that the time would also come when Baal would rise again and resume his kingship.

Baal's return meant rain and fertility. In a dream Il³⁾ saw the heavens rain oil and the wadies run with honey, 49:III:6 f, 12 f. Then he knew that Baal was alive and would soon be back, 49:III:8 f, 20 f. Even Il, who had been Baal's opponent, rejoiced and laughed, 49:III:14 ff. He asked Anat, Baal's sister and wife,

¹⁾ Pp. 70 ff.

²⁾ Cf. also *Jacobs*, HTR 38, 1945, pp. 78 ff.

³⁾ Or Anat? So *Gaster*, *Thespis* p. 200 f. See, however, *Gordon*, UL p. 46.

to have Šapaš, the sun goddess, go and seek Aliyan Baal, 49:III:22 ff. The sun goddess was willing, 49:IV:44. Baal was found, but how and where is not known, as the text has a lacuna.

When the text is again legible, 49:V:1, Baal is present himself. He seems to be furious: he seizes the son of Asherah and smites him before he returns to his throne, 49:V:1 f. There is a possibility that we have here a parallel to the rage of Telepinuš after the little bee had stung him, TM:I:26 ff. He had been sleeping and flew into a rage when he was aroused.

It is more probable, however, that we find here another motif: the victorious god who has to fight and defeat his opponents before he can ascend to the throne.¹⁾ The motif seems to be inevitable in connection with the ascension of a god to the throne. Marduk had to fight the monster Tiamat, and Yahwe (in the most ancient time) probably to defeat his enemies and make them his footstool (Ps. 110), before he could ascend to the throne on the New Year's Day.²⁾

Baal also had to take the fight. He could not, like Telepinuš, ascend directly to his throne, pacified through a complicated ritual. In the case of Baal the dramatic element is stronger. In the story of Telepinuš the ritual is the central point. In the acts at the altars the rage of the fertility god is exorcised. The ritual acts are the high point of the cult of Telepinuš.

In the AB cycle the central point seems to have been the dramatic performance. The stress was not on the ritual, but on the acts of those playing the parts of the different gods. These differences in the cult type of the Telepinuš myth and the AB cycle explain most of the differences between the returning of Telepinuš and that of Baal.

Baal drove away the substitute king, Aṭtar, the son of Asherah, 49:V:1 ff. That was certainly not a battle between equals. Aṭtar was smitten and driven away at once. In the eyes of the audience he played the rôle of the buffoon. Baal was the mighty king and

¹⁾ This motif is found in the Hurrian Kumarbi mythos, part 1:12 ff. The generations seem to change every ninth year. *Güterbock*, *AJA* 52, 1948, p. 124.

²⁾ In the cases of Marduk and Yahwe a creation is involved. In the case of Baal, however, there can be found no trace of such an event connected with the fights of this god.

against him Aṭtar meant nothing. The kingship was Baal's and it was only natural for him to resume his sovereignty, 49:V:5 f. But to make sure that he was really king again, he also had to fight and defeat his chief opponent, Mot. It was not considered sufficient that Anat had cloven him and scattered him, 49:II:30 ff, V:9 ff. Also the hero of the cycle, Baal, had to dispose of him.¹⁾ What leads to the direct conflict cannot be seen, because of the broken condition of the text. There is no doubt, however, that a fierce battle took place, 49:VI:16 ff.

The end, however, was sure. As Baal had to go into the earth when the summer came, Mot had to go down when it ended and the rain approached. His struggle was useless and the Sun had to tell him, advising him to cease his vain efforts, 49:VI:24 ff. The turn has come to Mot to be afraid and he follows the advice.²⁾

Baal, then, is victorious and can again resume his kingship, after having overcome all his rivals, 49:VI:34 f.³⁾ He goes up to the mountain Sapan and sits again on his throne, 76:III:12-15.

Baal was lord of the top of Sapan, b'l. mrym. špn, 51:V:85, 'nt:IV:81 f, cf. also 51:V:117. He was god of Sapan, il. špn, 'nt:III:26, IV:63. On the mountain was his sanctuary, 'nt:III:26 ff. To drive Baal from the heights of Sapan meant to deprive him of his kingdom and power, 'nt:III:44, IV:45 ff. He was always closely connected with Sapan, the holy mountain of the gods, cf. also 'nt:pl.X:V:5,18. There he was buried when he was dead, 62:15 ff. There was his home to which he returned when he had visited other places, 51:IV:19. There was his sanctuary and his throne.⁴⁾ There his praise was sung to the accompaniment of cymbals by a sweet-voiced youngster, 'nt:I:17 ff. His subjects served him and honoured him, 'nt:I:2 ff. He was verily king, 68:32. Before he defeated Prince Sea, Kṭr-w-Hss promised him eternal kingship, everlasting sovereignty, in case he was victorious,

¹⁾ Part of the text is broken, most of V:21-28 and VI:1-9.

²⁾ *Jacobs*; HTR 38, 1945, pp. 105 ff.

³⁾ The rest of the tablet is, unhappily, badly broken.

⁴⁾ On the attempts to identify Sapan with Jebel Aqra, the ancient Mons Casius, see above pp. 57 f. Cf. also *Schaeffer*, *Cun. Texts*, pp. 32, 71, *Otto Eissfeldt*, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer*, Halle 1932.

68:10. Baal seemed to be accustomed to take the lead. It was so when the gods were ready to comply with the wishes of Prince Sea. Then Baal rebuked them and encouraged them to resist the demands of the haughty prince, 137:21 ff. He was young and courageous. The leadership among the gods must naturally go to him as he possessed the qualities the old chief god Il seemed to lack. It was inevitable that he became the king of the gods while Il was receding more and more into the background. This is a chief point in the AB cycle, in the form in which it has been handed down to posterity. We shall always have to consider this point, not only when we discuss the relationship between Il and Baal, but in every case when the position of Baal in the Ugaritic pantheon is concerned.

The hidden struggle between Il and Baal had already come to its end. There was no doubt about the final result: Baal was king. Only so much remained from earlier time that we can clearly see that previously Il was the chief god. In the AB cycle he is still honoured as the god in whose hands some important decisions were laid, but Baal is clearly the real active king of the gods, lord of the sacred mountain of Sapan.

Baal was the central figure in the Ugaritic cult. Whatever point of view one holds, that can be the only conclusion. He had the leading rôle and was saluted as the king who had won over his enemies and was seated victoriously on his throne, guaranteeing rain and fertility for the year coming.

That Baal is established and saluted as king is not only a mythological trait. It is probably first and foremost a cultic event, as shown above. It may originally have had some connection with a change in the cult, when the young god Baal replaced Il as the main figure. But, after all, that event was not decisive for the character of Baal. Our investigation seems to show that it was of some importance in the vexed question of the relationship between Baal and Il. But Baal's character was fixed already before that struggle between the two main gods (or their followers) took place.

Baal was king in the cult. He was seated on his throne at the New Year festival, after having returned from his stay in the Nether World. He was saluted with the cult cry:

mlkn. aliyn b'l	Our king is Aliyan Baal
ṭpṭn. win. d'lnh	Our judge, and none is above him.
	(51:IV:43 f.) ¹⁾

That Baal was again seated on his throne was a guarantee for the coming year. The reign of Baal meant rain and fertility:

šmm. šmn. tmṭrn	The heavens rain oil
nḥlm. tlk. nbtm	The wadies run with honey.
	(49:III:12 f.)

There are clear parallels in the Telepinuš myth. When Telepinuš came back, fertility returned with him and the gods got their sacrifices on the altars. He also "served the king and the queen and gave them life and power for the future", TM, IV:25 ff.²⁾ It is highly interesting that Telepinuš is connected with the king in this way. According to ancient belief, not only in the Near East, the welfare of the whole country depended on that of the king. That life, fertility and power was secured for the king through the return of Telepinuš also meant that the whole country would thrive.

In the case of Baal we are told that he was king and that fertility returned with him when he came back from the Nether World. About his relationship with the Ugaritic king we hear nothing in the texts, apart from the passages in the Krt-text where the king sacrifices to Tor-Il and Baal, lines 65 ff, 146 ff. It is also told that Baal drew near when Danil was praying, II Aqht I:17. These connections, however, are self-evident and do not yield much for an understanding of the relationship between the king of gods and the king of men.

We do not know very much about the cult in Ugarit. Quite a lot can be guessed, from the comprehensive text material and from the remains of the cult buildings. The close connection between the texts and the temple cult of Ugarit has been discussed in length above.³⁾ We have seen that it is highly probable that the

¹⁾ Cf. also 'nt:pl. VI:V:40 f.

²⁾ Cf. Goetze's transl. in ANET p. 128; Heinrich Otten, *Die Überlieferungen des Telipinu-Mythus*, p. 7.

³⁾ Pp. 14 ff.

texts were used in cultic performances of a dramatic kind. The analogies, especially from the Babylonian akītu-festival (which was found already in the time of Šamši-Adad and Hammurapi)¹⁾ point clearly in that direction.

It is only natural, then, to ask the question: who played the rôle of Baal? The picture of Baal may have been used, just as was the picture of Marduk in Babylon. But the picture alone was not sufficient. A statue cannot fight, nor talk. Some human being had to perform the rôle of Baal and nobody was nearer to that than the king. In other Near Eastern cults, as the Hittite and the Babylonian, the king played an important rôle in the cult. So was the case also in Egypt, and just these three cultures have been of importance to the Ugaritic one. There is no serious reason to doubt that in Ugarit too the king was a central figure in the cult drama and that his rôle was that of Baal.²⁾ That gives a wider and richer perspective on Baal as king, as a rising and victorious god. In the dramatic performance the king was identified with the god. In living through the fate of Baal and especially when he defeated the enemies and ascended to the throne, he assured for himself and thereby also for his country the victory, the power and the fecundity of the mighty god.

Conclusions.

Baal has a very conspicuous place in the AB cycle. He is the main figure and the whole story is built up around him, his life and death. Also Il and Anat have important rôles, but the most important one falls to Baal. What happens to him is always the decisive event. He is mentioned very often, under different names. The changing names are an indication of his popularity.

Two of these names are hdd (hd) and il hd, and a third is bn. dgn. These important designations are used several times.

¹⁾ Archives Royales de Mari. Vol. 1. No. 50.

²⁾ This fact began to be clear to me already on my first investigation of the R Sh texts, cf. my article "Jahves tronstigningsfest og funnene i Ras Sjamra", NTT 39, 1940, pp. 38-58, esp. p. 48. Cf. earlier *Hvidberg*, *Graad og Latter i det Gamle Testament*, 1938, and *Engnell*, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, 1943, pp. 101 ff.

They establish the identity of Baal with the great rain and thunder god and give a plain indication of his character. As I have shown above this is completely in line with the traits we have found during our investigation.

The designation bn. dgn shows, together with other evidence, that Baal was not the son of Il. He was the son of Dagan, the ancient Near Eastern grain and fertility god. He had no house of his own, and a temple had to be built for him. Though he was still dependent on Il, he was clearly coming more and more into the foreground. Some caution is advisable, but the conclusion is plausible that Baal was a god of foreign origin and originally not a member of the Ugaritic pantheon.¹⁾ There can be little doubt that he had always been a rain and fertility god. His identity with Hadad is maintained in the texts and cannot be denied. *Schaeffer* suggests that the Semitic Canaanites had Baal added to their pantheon when they penetrated into northern Syria.²⁾ There the Hurrians worshipped the storm and weather-god under the name of Teššub, and *Schaeffer* seems to suggest that it was with this god the Canaanites got acquainted. As there was always, in the middle of the 2nd millennium, a great percentage of Hurrians and Hittites in Ugarit, this is a plausible suggestion. Personally I believe, however, that the influence from the Hadad cult came more directly. Hadad and Dagan were highly important gods in Mari, Terqa and Halab.³⁾ In Halab, which is so near to Ugarit, there was a famous temple dedicated to Hadad.⁴⁾ I think the use of the name of Hadad in the R Sh texts (together with the bn. dgn) points in the direction that the influence on Ugaritic religion came from these important cult places. That does not exclude the possibility that influences from Hurrian and Hittite religion were strong and may have given new details to the picture.

Baal came into the Ugaritic pantheon as a young god, šgr hd, the young Hadad, 133:rev. 11. A new god was nearly always a young god, so also Baal. As interest focused around him, the old leading god, Il, receded into the background. He must, however,

¹⁾ So also *Schaeffer*, *Cun. Texts*, p. 8.

²⁾ *Op. cit.* p. 8.

³⁾ See above, pp. 30 ff, 53 ff.

⁴⁾ *von Soden*, *WO* 3, 1948, p. 200.

have been an important god and his place in the pantheon could not be taken so easily.¹⁾ As a matter of fact he kept his leading rôle, at least nominally. In a way it was not only nominally, as the decision in certain matters were still clearly in his hands, e.g. who among the gods should be allowed to have his own house. But at the same time as the goddesses apply to Il for a house to be erected for Baal, they call the young god their king and judge, above whom there is none, *ʿnt:pl.VI:V:40 f, 51:IV:43 f!* This seems to be somewhat inconsistent. It probably originates from the fact that the relationship between Baal and Il is portrayed just in the midst of the process of change. The situation is on its way to become clear, but still many of the old points of view linger on. Il has just been forced into the background by the young, strong god, as Enlil had to recede about 1900 B.C. for Marduk, and Kumarbi for Kronos. This is the reason for the standing, but actually not open feud between the two gods. The struggle was seldom visible, probably because Il had already lost so much of his importance. There is, however, as shown above, no doubt that the feud was still there, also when the texts were written.

The temple building of Baal must be placed in the same connection. It meant that the new chief god took a leading place in the cult. As the texts, especially the AB cycle, were closely connected with the cult, they must necessarily portray the important rôle of Baal, while Il, as a corollary had a more modest one. Concerning the temple-building we shall, however, have to be cautious. It is highly probable that the struggle about the erection of the temple for Baal is an indication that Baal was a new god who had to force his way into the Ugaritic pantheon. This interpretation is also the dominant one above. That does not prevent me from stressing the necessity of using caution in retracing into history the events told in the AB cycle. As I have maintained again and again they are not historical events, nor "only mythical", but rather cultic events. The temple building of Baal must be sharply scrutinized also from this point of view.

¹⁾ Cf. *Eissfeldt*, *El im ugaritischen Pantheon*, 1951, pp. 60 ff. Against his point of view see *Albright: Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*: "El was generally a rather remote and shadowy figure", who "sometimes stepped down from his eminence and became the hero of exceedingly earthy myths." P. 72.

There can be little doubt that the temple building is a traditional motif, found also in other Near Eastern cult myths. I have mentioned above¹⁾ that it is found in the *Enuma eliš*, used in a parallel way. There also a young victorious god, Marduk, who had just defeated the Sea Monster, Tiamat, had a house built for him. The circumstances are in many points the same as they are in the case of Baal.²⁾

I am also tempted to mention Gudea's building of a new temple for Ningirsu, the son of Enlil.³⁾ The narrative of this is found in another type of text, namely a historical document (though with many mythical and cultic traits). This is of some significance for our investigation. We have a historical situation from a very early time, where the god Ningirsu, the son of Enlil, is clearly placed in a more important position than his father. The story of Gudea's temple building for Ningirsu is a picture of a historical event which is very similar to that which may be seen behind the story of Baal's temple building. This may be a confirmation that we are really entitled to see some historical events behind the story of the enmity between Baal and Il and behind the story of the temple building. In the case of Marduk in the *Enuma eliš* the situation is parallel. The method used here can in my opinion only be applied for the main ideas and the situation as a whole. Used for interpretation of details the sources of errors are too many and so are the pit-falls. Altogether a cultic interpretation is most valuable because it brings out the deeper meaning of the text.

As I have tried to show above, Baal is to a very high degree a cultic figure. I do not say that he is only a cultic figure, though probably this could really be said if we were fully aware of the fact that the religious cult was most closely connected with daily life and the changing of the year, as well as with the ancient myths.

Baal's life, death and different acts can all be better understood when seen against a cultic background. The cult in ancient Near Eastern religions was not an empty form nor some type of half-dead tradition. It was the active form of religion and the chief way in which religion was expressed. We are certainly wrong if

¹⁾ P. 110.

²⁾ Only that in the case of Baal no creation is involved, as mentioned above.

³⁾ Gudea Cylinder A & B.

we transfer our modern conceptions of personal religion versus cultic religion to the ancient Near East. Such a transfer, possibly subconscious rather than conscious, is probably the reason why it has been so hard for scholars to see the importance of the cultic point of view. At any rate it has been stressed by so many eminent scholars in the last years that even the most reluctant have been obliged to take it up for discussion.

Baal was worshipped in a cult which was no empty form. It was a cult which, on the contrary, sprang from the hopes and fears of daily life. It was created from an emotional need: the need to make human existence safe, to ensure a good future with fertility and rich crops, to make sure that the rain was certain to come and give food and life. Further, fear was playing its part: fear that drought would emerge victorious and the sun burn off the growing seed. The necessary precautions must be taken and all help given to the good forces of rain and fertility.

To make sure that everything would go the right way the people of Ugarit—or probably more properly the priests—had to induce the god concerned to do his utmost. The god who could take care of the things just mentioned, was Baal, who was most closely connected with rain and fertility. But Baal was not expected to do that only on his own initiative. To make the god act, the people (or their representatives) had to start activity themselves. The god had to be furnished with food and wine. All kinds of worship were necessary. Festivals had to be arranged, rites to be performed. The drama of nature had to be created and kept going through the means known from ancient times. The way used was that of analogy. This way is not limited to magic, where it is frequently used, but it is often found also in religion. In ancient times the life of nature was seen as a drama, not a process following certain immanent laws. The whole drama could be started if one performed a series of religious acts (cult acts) which laid down the pattern for what was going to happen and also started these happenings. Here is the basis of the Baal mythology. It sprang from a life situation, the hopes and fears of daily life, as they were expressed in the cult.¹⁾ The literary form of the texts is subordinated to their purpose.

¹⁾ Certainly the texts were also reworked several times and their style smoo-

The AB cycle is a creative analogy, sprung from and handed down in tradition from an emotional basis, born in daily life. In this central point it touches magic, which is also built on analogy and which also aims at creating through analogy. The cult myth of Telepinuš, where religion as well as magic can be found, shows that it is not always a question of different attitudes of life, but of different forms of the same emotional impulse.¹⁾

In their use of the creative analogy the cult performers had a strong feeling that all stages of life had to be considered, also death and decay. This gave an opportunity to "create" victory over destruction and death. A victory per analogy over those dark powers, which were described as being so strong, was a pledge, a guaranty, that the real victory would also come.

It is obvious why they had to be content with the analogy. In spite of the most intense efforts it was impossible to be master of nature, the year cycle, the coming of the rain, growth of the crop, fertility of fields and animals. Therefore, they had to resort to something analogous and mould this analogy into the shape they wanted, in the firm hope and belief that nature must follow the pattern they had laid down. Probably they considered future events already created in nuce through creative analogy.

Later, then, came the literary work. New myths and legends were formed and the ancient connection with the cult was sometimes lost (as can be seen in Greek mythology). It is often hard to decide where we have clearly cultic myths and where we have purely literary ones.²⁾ As I have shown above, I think we are entitled to consider most of the AB cycle (if not all) as texts which were really used in the cult.³⁾

thed, especially through cultic use, but the starting point was, in my opinion, rather of an emotional than of an intellectual character.

¹⁾ This is according to my own point of view concerning the relationship between religion and magic. I have tried to elaborate it in an article on Hittite religion, which is not printed yet. Also *Mowinkel* has stressed the close connection which can often be found between religion and magic, though his main point of view is another, Religion og kultus, pp. 30-33.

²⁾ *Otto Eissfeldt* has discussed this at some length in his book "Ras Shamra und Sanchuniaton", 1939, pp. 76 ff, see especially pp. 80 ff.

³⁾ Pp. 13 ff. I allow myself to cite from *Eissfeldt*, op. cit. p. 80: "Dass diese "mythologischen" Texte, in denen viel von Tempel und Opfer, Bestattung und

As surely as Baal was a cult figure, so he was also most closely connected with nature and the year cycle. We have seen it again and again, and I shall here only mention the words used about him in 49:IV:27 and 38.¹⁾ He is there connected with the ploughland and thereby also with the year cycle, as the land had to be ploughed every year. When Baal returned from the realm of death, he brought rain and fertility: "the heavens rain oil, the valleys run with honey", 49:III:2 ff. He was the giver of rain, to him the plowmen lifted their heads, 126:III:1 ff. When he came back each autumn, the people would rejoice, in the same way as did Il, 49:III:10 ff.

In all this the character of Baal deviates very little from that of Hadad. This is no wonder, as we have seen that Baal is identical with the great rain and storm god. Some traits may have come also from the Hittite storm god, Teššub, but more probably Teššub is a parallel figure who also has his roots in Hadad. It is more likely that traits from the Sumerian fertility deity, Tammuz, may be found in Baal.

In the character of Baal there are few deviations from that of Hadad, that is: as far as we know the "life story" of Hadad. Queerly enough no consistent myth of any length nor any detailed tradition is kept about this much worshipped god. The traits can be gathered from different sources and countries, but it is only through these glimpses that we can get an impression of Hadad and what he was. The situation was previously much the same where Baal was concerned. In that case, however, the R Sh texts have given the information needed.

Much stressed in the story of Baal are the events connected with his house-building. Quantitatively they occupy a great part of the AB cycle, and the house-building seems to be the crowning event in the whole story. In the Enuma eliš a temple-building for

Trauer, Mantik und Magie die Rede ist, zum Kultus in Beziehung stehen und, wenigstens zum Teil, geradezu die Festlegenden, die *ἱεροὶ λόγοι* bestimmter Feiern und Handlungen darstellen, darf als sicher gelten, und insofern sind die Versuche, ihren Sitz im Kultus genauer zu bestimmen, trotz aller ihnen anhaftenden Problematik berechtigt."

¹⁾ See above, p. 96.

Marduk is mentioned,¹⁾ but it is an event among other events and it does not get all the space and stress the temple-building gets in the AB cycle. The battle with Tiamat and the victory over this monster are dominating events in the Babylonian story. Not so in the Ugaritic texts. The fight with Prince Sea is pictured in a dramatic way, but it is relatively short. The stress is transferred to the temple-building which took place after the victory. This has led scholars to see the house-building as the main event in Baal's life. There are, however, special reasons for this stressing of the building. Tradition has clearly seen this point as an important one. A detailed and vivid picture is given.

As I have mentioned several times the story of the temple-building seems to reflect some historical events. There must have been important events which made strong impressions. The whole story of Baal and especially his relationship with Il seem to indicate that these events consisted of the acceptance of a new god, the young Baal, into the pantheon. A great temple had to be built, and the story of this is reflected in the AB cycle.

It may be objected that we cannot know very much about this. It is true that we can only guess, but in this case I do not think that there is a real alternative. The important dramatic events connected with the temple-building have not been related only for the pleasure of the audience. They have certainly been closely connected with cult acts, most likely with dramatic performances enacted in the cult. They still reflect some of the joy which was felt when the impressive temple of the young god was finished and his cult started. There may be additions in the texts, details and repetitions which were not there from the beginning, but I have no doubt that their kernel was used in the ritual for the new Baal temple.

Scholars have been fully aware of the importance of the temple-building tradition, actually so much that a warning seems appropriate. The story of Baal's house-building must not be seen separately, apart from the rest of the AB cycle. There has been a tendency to do so. That must necessarily give a wrong picture. The

¹⁾ E.E.VI:47 ff.

temple-building is only part of the whole. Certain historical events have led to a stressing of this point, but that does not give us any right to separate it from the rest of the story. On the contrary: the Baal who had his new temple built, was the Baal who defeated Prince Sea, who cooperated with Anat and loved her, who had to go down into the earth according to the command of Mot, and who returned and reigned on Sapan, the mountain in the North.

Cultically seen it is all part of a great cycle, going around again and again. It starts nowhere and it ends nowhere. It just goes on. But it has certain climaxes that stand out. Baal's victories over his enemies; his return from the depths of the earth, his temple-building are such climaxes. Most likely the whole AB cycle was used in one great, concentrated festival: the New Year Festival. There the climaxes stood out also in the dramatic performance and gave the good omens for the coming year. Actually they did not only give omens. The dramatic performance in the cult created the good future, it was started through the cultic acts.¹⁾

The AB cycle is without an end and without a beginning. It is clearly connected with fertility and with the crop. There can thus be little doubt that its cycle is the year cycle. Seen from the point of view of the farmer and the tiller of the earth the year cycle is a never-ending cycle, always going around, without a beginning, without an end. It is the only cycle which can really be the basis for the AB cycle. Any attempt to dismiss this background and to find other backgrounds (as e.g. a seven years period)²⁾ is doomed to failure.³⁾ Seven years periods, even seven times seven, have surely existed and were possibly considered as being of some interest,⁴⁾ but they were not so important for daily life that they would lead to the creation of cult acts and myths.

One of Baal's adversaries, zbl. ym, Prince Sea, seems to be of a traditional type. Parallels may be found in Tiamat, Leviathan and Rahab. The other mighty enemy of Baal, mt, Mot, is of a

¹⁾ *Mowinkel*: Psalmenstudien. II. Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs, and Offersang og sangoffer, 1951, pp. 20 ff, 132 ff, Religion og kultus, pp. 65 ff.

²⁾ *Gordon*: UL p. 4 f.

³⁾ See above, pp. 120 f, 126 ff.

⁴⁾ 49:V:8, 75:II:45, I Aqht:44-46.

different type. The texts indicate that he was the god of sterility and aridity, but at the same time he is in some way connected with the barley.¹⁾ It does not thus seem right to see in him a parallel of Rešef, the god of pestilence.²⁾ It is more likely that, as Baal was connected with the fertile part of the year, the rainy season, so was Mot connected with the dry season, the hot summer. That the summer time was not completely arid and sterile, is well known.³⁾ But that is expressed also in the character of Mot. Anat treated him just as if he were barley, burning him with fire, grinding him with millstones and planting him in the fields, 49:II:31 ff. Even the opponent of Baal, the representative of the opposite principle, has been coloured by ideas which may have been transferred from his more dominating adversary.⁴⁾ This has nothing to do with lack of logic; it is caused by the fact that Mot was so closely connected with the summer season. That meant that Mot did not only represent what was arid and dry in this season, but also what was growing. This enigmatic trait in the character of Mot may thus be an indication that he as well as Baal really were so connected with the year cycle as has been maintained above.

Concerning the time, place and author of the AB cycle, not much needs to be said. That the texts originated in Ugarit is more than probable. The tablets which were found in the royal (temple-) library were written in the time of king Nqmd of Ugarit, in the fourteenth century B.C. Most of the texts are considerably older than that. Baal had long ago been accepted into the Ugaritic pantheon when the tablets were written. The origin of the texts must therefore go some hundred years back. So is the case also with the temples, an archaeological confirmation of the thesis that the texts were known a long time before they were taken down in writing in the form they have now. They were used in the cult and got their decisive, artistic form there.

The circles where the texts were born, were adherents of Baal

¹⁾ See above, pp. 125 ff.

²⁾ So *Gaster*, *Forgotten Religions*, pp. 122 f.

³⁾ Cf. *Gordon*, *UL* p. 4.

⁴⁾ Cf. *Gaster*, *Thespis* p. 124.

and worshippers of him. They wanted to show that the claims of other gods to be king on Sapan were empty. Baal was the god on Sapan, king and supreme judge. He was victorious in battles, and neither Il nor Mot could hinder him in taking his seat on the throne of the gods, on "the mountain in North". This was a firm belief in the Baal circles, as we can see from the texts. The thorough knowledge of the cult in these circles shows that they were most likely found among the personnel of the Baal temple in Ugarit.

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